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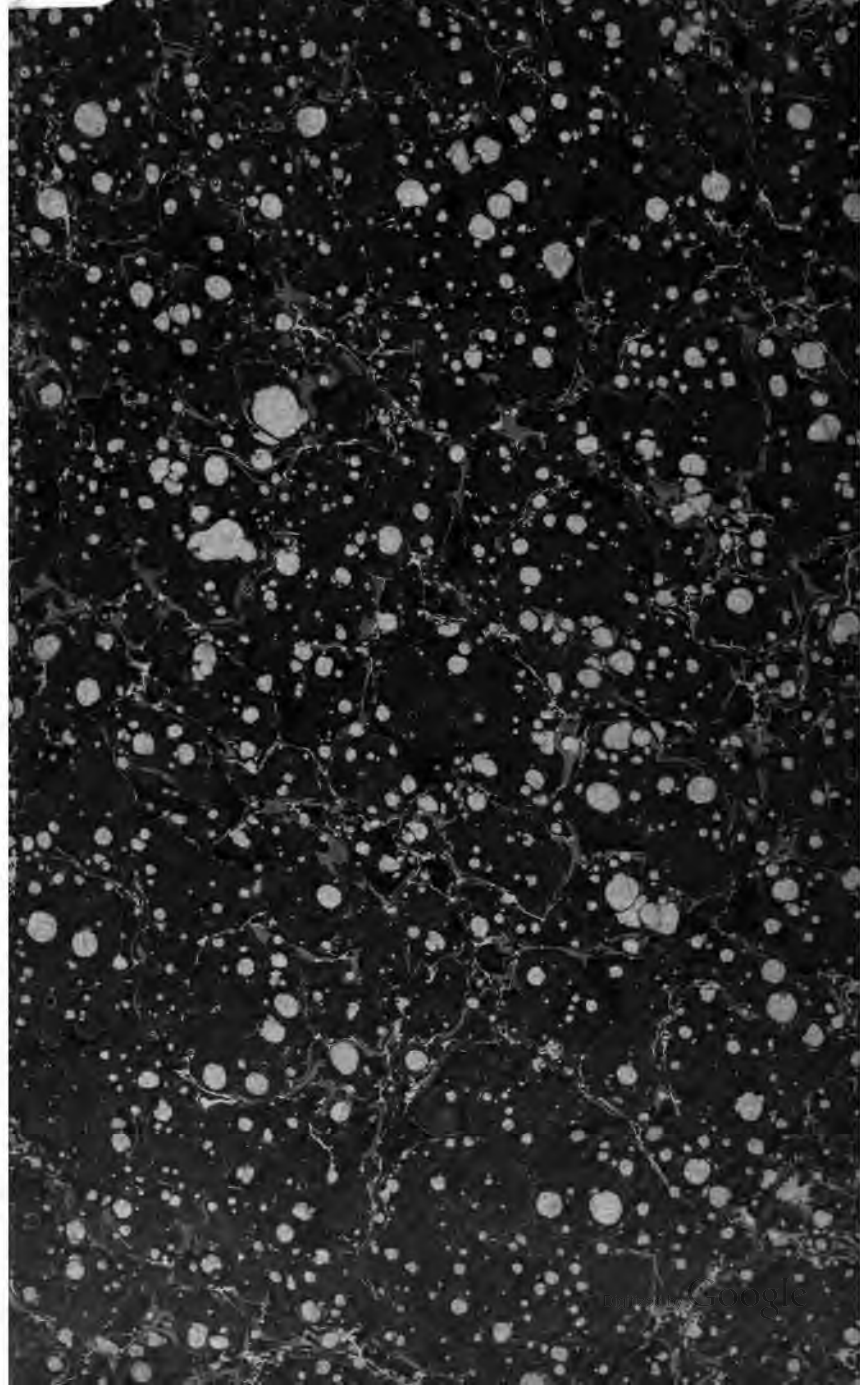
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FROM

*Robert N. Cust, L.L.D.*

*22 Jan. 1890*

# THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC

IN

BRITISH INDIA;

OR

HAS THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT DONE  
ITS DUTY?

---

AN ANSWER TO

VENERABLE ARCHDEACON FARRAR

AND

MR. SAMUEL SMITH, M.P.

---

BY

ROBERT NEEDHAM CUST, LL.D.

LATE MEMBER OF H.M. INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE, MEMBER OF THE COMMITTEES OF THE  
BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY AND THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY,  
HONORARY SECRETARY OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, AND J.P. FOR  
THE COUNTY OF MIDDLESEX AND LIBERTY OF WESTMINSTER.

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*Μεγάλη ἡ ἀλήθεια, καὶ ὑπερισχύει,*

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# THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC IN BRITISH INDIA;

OR

## HAS THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT DONE ITS DUTY?

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“DOEST thou well to be angry for the gourd?” And he said, “I do well to be angry even unto death.” Such were the words of the Prophet Jonah, 800 B.C. : it is well even in this age of hasty judgment, and rash words, to be angry, when statements are made by public men in public places, which are wholly unwarrantable, and the Government of a great Dependency, the greatest that History ever knew, is held up to scorn for having initiated, and continued for more than a Century, a policy of the damnable nature of deliberately destroying the morals of two hundred Millions, placed in their charge, and at their mercy, for the sake of realising a paltry Revenue. As one of the chief speakers put it, “The wants of the Indian Exchequer “are so urgent, and it is so easy to bring in Revenue from the “increased sale of drink, that the temptation is irresistible “to go on licensing more drink-shops.” There is no getting out of the difficulty: the charge is not made on this occasion against the British people, the great shipping and commercial and manufacturing interests of Great Britain, but against the Government of India.

How did it come about? For more than twenty-five years there has existed in England an association called the “Church of England Temperance Society,” which by its numerous branches has done an infinity of good to the people of this island, who are notoriously a thirsty race, and, in addition to many excellent qualities, which have placed them in the front rank of Nations past and present, do not possess, and never have possessed, the great grace of Temperance. Total Abstinence is the miserable and desperate remedy of the dipsomaniac, the weak-hearted, and coward, while Temperance in all

things lawful is the glory of the Christian Man, using the good gifts of his Creator, as they were intended to be used. Happy are those, who from their youth up, not under the influence of a pledge, or a command, or a craze, have of their own free will and inclination learnt to dispense with the use of stimulants and tobacco: but this grace is not given to all, although the number is annually increasing. The above-mentioned Association determined in 1886 to make a new departure, and to carry the war all over the world. A letter was addressed to the Primate of England by the Chairman of the Society, enunciating this new policy, and stating with regard to British India that "a nation of "abstainers was gradually becoming a nation of drunkards": "that drunkenness had disappeared, but was reintroduced by "the British": that "nothing was done to check the evil by "legislative measures": that "nearly every village had its "liquor shop, and the natives believed that they were "*conferring a favour on the Government* by buying the liquor." We are not told in the Pamphlet, to whom we are indebted for the last sentiment, but it looks, as if the writer had had a rise taken out of him by some astute Bábu from a Presidency College, who had acquired bad habits; but Archdeacon Farrar is credited with the following dictum, which no doubt drew down rounds of discriminating and temperate applause:

"We have girdled the world with a zone of drink."

The selection of authorities in the appendix to the Pamphlet contains no single name, which carries any authority whatever: one person suggests, that total abstinence should be a condition precedent to Baptism, for which there is no warrant in Holy Scripture: another person translates "sharáb" as "shame water": this rendering may deceive excited hearers in a public meeting, but will not hold water in Asia, and has no warrant in the Dictionary. Another person cannot see any other explanation for the increase of income, than the encouragement by the State of the sale, forgetting that a higher rate of taxation, only limited by the margin of profit of the smuggler, would have the same result. A great increase in the amount of Police fines in the Metropolitan area in a given period would imply not that the Magistrates had encouraged intemperance, and wife-beating, but had punished it by heavier fines. The

late King of Oudh is credited with the merit of not making a revenue out of the sale of spirits: it is true, for he allowed distilleries to be worked without any check whatsoever! This would hardly seem a wise policy either in India or Westminster. Another person states, and no doubt correctly, that the educated classes betake themselves to imported liquors, and infers, that the Government is entirely responsible for this state of things. Has that person considered, whether in a country, of which Free Trade is the glory, any import can be excluded without raising difficult complications with British and Foreign Producers? The same person remarks, that the heathen regard the use of intoxicating liquors as a sign of a Christian. I shall show below, that this person must have imperfectly studied the literature of India to arrive at such a conclusion. Nanda Lal Ghose, a Barrister, undertakes to state, that the Demon of Drink was introduced by a Christian Government. I must refer him to a closer study of the esteemed writings of his own countrymen. Another person states (as the result of six months' tour in India) that the natives, if left to themselves, would not have *licensed* shops for the sale of the vile alcoholic compounds, which come from Europe. No doubt, that, if the State-control and tax were removed, there would be an unlimited amount of *unlicensed* shops. And, with all deference to the same person's opinion, formed in the Railway-train, or the Hotel, or Rest-houses, and unassisted by the least knowledge of the Vernacular, I do not think, that in matters of morality the Government of India falls behind the Ethical Code of the people, as unquestionably the slaughter of kine was prohibited, while the slaughter of widows, female children, aged relations, and lepers, was considered to be a religious duty, and the practice has been only abandoned, or checked, under the pressure of severe penalties, without any assistance from the moral consciousness of the Nation. During the Mutinies the Emperor Napoleon III. received a petition from India praying for assistance to drive out the British, who had forbidden their time-honoured customs, among which these amiable customs were enumerated!

But another movement had been made, with less sound of the trumpet, perhaps with more soberness of statement, by Missionary Societies to stem, if possible, the stream of liquor, which was flowing from European ports into the Rivers of West



Africa. In December, 1884, while the Berlin Conference was sitting to arrange the affairs of the Dominion of the Kongo, at my suggestion a Deputation of the Church Missionary Society was received by the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to lay before him the state of the case, and urge the introduction into the Treaty of some clause, restricting by a system of Excise the importation of European liquor into the Basin of the Niger. The Bishop of Sierra Leone made an impressive speech, and I was permitted to follow him, and I ventured to remark, that the Missionaries were not seeking their own personal interests, but those of the people, who could not speak for themselves, and that they did not ask for impossibilities, such as the absolute prohibition of the import of spirits, but only for the regulation by means of Excise, and licences of Liquor Shops. Great credit should be given to the representatives of Great Britain and of the United States, for their gallant attempt to introduce a clause, but it was necessary to make a compromise with Germany and France, and the clause was abandoned. In October, 1885, the German Missionaries, assembled at Bremen in North Germany, brought to notice the lamentable consequences to the people of Africa of the uncontrolled import of spirituous liquors, chiefly from Hamburg, and Dr. Zahn, the Inspector of the North German Missionary Society, published a powerful German pamphlet on the subject, and was good enough to make communications to me, which enabled me on the 20th January, 1886, to bring before an assembly of representatives of all the great Missionary Societies at the Wesleyan Mission House, Bishopgate Street, the following resolutions:

“ A. That the Protestant Missionary Societies of Great Britain  
 “ and Ireland should send a Deputation to the Foreign Office  
 “ to point out the ruin, which threatens the Negro populations  
 “ of West Africa generally, and of the Basin of the Niger in  
 “ particular, by the unrestricted importation of spirituous liquors  
 “ from Northern Europe, and to inform the Foreign Secretary,  
 “ that the German and German Swiss Missionary Societies,  
 “ assembled at Bremen, last October, have brought the subject  
 “ before the notice of the Imperial Government at Berlin with  
 “ the same object, admitting frankly that the town of Hamburg  
 “ is one of the greatest offenders in this matter.

“ B. The Deputation should impress upon Her Majesty's  
 “ Government, that the present state of affairs will not only pre-

“vent the development of legitimate trade in the Manufactures  
 “and Products of Europe, but will destroy, physically as well as  
 “morally, the population of a country, rescued from the Slave  
 “Trade by the expenditure of British lives and resources.

“C. The remedies, suggested as feasible, in which the  
 “German Societies agree, are

“(I.) The imposition of a substantial Import-duty, fixed at a  
 “scale just low enough as not to make smuggling profitable.

“(II.) The introduction of a system of Licences, by which  
 “the sale would be restricted to certain shops, maintained by  
 “responsible parties. A substantial Fee to be levied for each  
 “licence.

“(III.) The forbidding of any British person, or British  
 “Company, remunerating labour, or bartering for natural pro-  
 “duce, in spirituous liquors.

“(IV.) The discontinuance on the part of the British  
 “Authorities of making presents of cases and bottles of spirits  
 “to Natives, or offering, or receiving, entertainment in spirits  
 “on the occasion of public ceremonies.

“The Revenue collected from the Import-Duty and Licence-  
 “Fee will suffice to maintain ample Government Establishments  
 “for the purpose of enforcing the Regulation of Customs and  
 “Excise now proposed.

“D. The leading secular organs of Public Opinion should  
 “be invited to bring home to the public conscience the lament-  
 “able consequence of the neglect of remedial measures *before*  
 “*the evil exceeds the possibility of control and remedy.* A promis-  
 “ing market, both of Export of Native Produce, and the  
 “Import of European Manufactures, will be destroyed by the  
 “short-sightedness of the first generation of Merchants, who  
 “would literally kill the goose to get at the golden eggs: this  
 “point of view concerns the Manufacturer and Merchant; but  
 “the Missionary Societies have their thoughts ever solely  
 “fixed upon the awful crime of ruining Millions of a race in  
 “a low state of culture, and unable to protect themselves, by  
 “the introduction of Rum, Gin, and Alcohol, *of the very exist-*  
 “*ence of which the Negroes never heard before, and with which they*  
 “*could not supply themselves except by the Agency of European*  
 “*Merchants.*”

It was agreed, after discussion, that the subject should be  
 referred to a Committee delegated by each Society, who should

confer, and make a collective Report to their several Committees, and that final action should then be taken. This eventuated in an able and comprehensive Pamphlet, entitled "Trafficking in Liquor with the Natives of Africa," from the pen of the Rev. Horace Waller, so well known as the companion of Livingstone, stating the whole case, and published in the beginning of the year 1887. I have alluded to these proceedings in detail, as no doubt those, who disagree with me in my argument, defending the Government of India against the unjust aspersions thrown upon it, may be tempted to cry out, that I am a kind of Philistine, and one who cares little for the welfare of native races: on the contrary, it is the leading object of my life, and I was up in arms for the people of West Africa long before the Church of England Temperance Society unfortunately lent an ear to the exaggerations and downright falsehoods, which have for the present arrested its useful and benevolent career.

On the 30th of March of the year 1887 a Meeting was held in Prince's Hall, Piccadilly, of all persons interested in this great subject, "The Demoralization of Native Races by the Drink Traffic." The Bishop of London was in the Chair. The practical object of the Meeting was to appoint a Committee to collect information, and I among others was requested to attend, and to allow my name to be placed on the General Committee, to which I gladly assented, believing, in the innocence of my heart, that the term "Native Races" was meant to include those unfortunate races of Africa, and Oceania, which, being under no settled form of Government able to protect them, were at the mercy of the unprincipled European importers of European spirituous liquors, as described in Mr. Horace Waller's pamphlet.

The Bishop of London made an admirable opening address, carrying every one with him. He was followed by Archdeacon Farrar, who proposed the first Resolution, and astonished many of his hearers (and among them most particularly myself) by stating, that his portion of the task related to British India. Now India is a great dependency of the British Crown, with a Constitution of its own, a Budget of its own, owing nothing to Great Britain, and paying no tribute to Great Britain, governed under a system of law by able and high-minded men, sent out from time to time by both of the great parties of the State, who are assisted in the subordinate administration, political, fiscal, and judicial, by the great Civil Service of India,

which is elected by competition from the youth of each year, restrained by Covenants, controlled by Rules, guaranteed by Law, and upheld in the high and steadfast path of Honour and Duty by feelings of Self-respect, and the consciousness of integrity never questioned, and purity of motive, upon which no shadow during this century had ever been cast. In a book which I published this year, "Linguistic and Oriental Essays," Second Series, when reviewing the miserable state of Egypt, I contrasted with it the state of affairs in British India, remarking, "that the British official, wherever he goes, carries "with him in his office-box the dignity of a gentleman and "a Christian: under no circumstances, or in any place, and "in any environment, would he condescend to do or say what "is false or mean: he would shrink from what is cruel and "treacherous: he would proudly turn away from what is "wanton or sordid." And yet Archdeacon Farrar, with knowledge, or without knowledge (it matters not which), that the administration of British India is entirely in the hands of the Covenanted Civil Service, with the exception of the post of Viceroy, and the Governors of Bombay and Madras, in strong, slow, and measured words, dared to say,

**"We found India sober, and left it drunken."**

As the Head Master of a great public school, he could not resist a quotation,

"pudet hæc opprobria nobis

"Et dici potuisse, et non potuisse, repelli."

The indignation, which several members of the Indian Services felt, with myself, when we listened to this speech, can scarcely be described: the feeling was to interrupt the meeting by loud protests, but the kind and wise address of the Bishop of London held me back, for to disturb the meeting would be to vex him: my chief desire was to get away from a Hall, where such things were uttered and applauded.

He was followed by Mr. Samuel Smith, M.P., who, freed from the restraint of the presence of Under-Secretaries of State for India, and ex-Governors of Bengal and Bombay, who had to a certain degree kept him in order in the House of Commons, mounted his hobby, and in order that full justice may be done to his eloquence and accuracy of statement, I quote his remarks from the Report in the "Rock" Newspaper:

"During his recent visit to India he found a complete unanimity of opinion as to the rapid increase of intemperance. The natives imitate Englishmen in drinking with disastrous effects, for they have not the same power of self-control, and their constitution is not so strong. Before *the English were in India the sale of strong drink was unknown*. By religion and custom *the people of India were total abstainers*." Mr. Smith produced a profound impression by his calm and clear statements. He gave some items from a letter, which he had received from an English missionary, which created a painful impression. "No one would say or think," says the missionary, "that Government desires to foster the vice of drunkenness in its Indian subjects," whereupon Mr. Smith remarked, amid cheers, "That is a charitable statement," and continuing the reading of the missionary's letter, said, "But Government wants *money*, and the Board of Revenue has found out that one way to get it is to encourage the drink trade, and to put facilities before the people generally to take to the habit of drinking, in order to push on the trade and get in a larger revenue, so that really the Indian Government is guilty of the crime of pushing a trade for fiscal objects, which is fast spreading the terrible evil of drinking and drunkenness throughout the country." The speaker went on to describe how this had been effected by the "out-still" system. "Formerly certain central distillers were alone permitted. Instead of this, under the new system native distillers were at liberty to open their own stills and manufacture as much as they liked and what they pleased, by paying a monthly rent to the Government for permission to manufacture and sell. This brought the liquor down from about two shillings or so a bottle to about twopence, and the stills multiplied a hundred-fold. The consequence was there was a regular rush for the drink from all classes, the *very beggars and boys and women* taking to it. There are two facts of importance which should not be lost sight of in native drinking. First, natives have no idea of moderation in the use of strong drinks. They try to get drunk, and therefore they imbibe by the bottle, not by the glass. Moreover, while many Europeans reform and give up the drink, the native goes on to the bitter end. Once a Native becomes a hard drinker, he seldom or never can give it up, for the want of moral courage. The Revenue in India

“is chronically short. The mass of people are poor beyond any standard of poverty known at home. We hold India by prestige, but in the long run, we shall only hold India by the prestige of righteousness.” He thought, that the greatest kindness an audience can do to the Government of India, is to elevate their standard of righteousness, a sentiment which elicited warm approval. Mr. Smith quoted the testimony of a native doctor to the effect, that 90 per cent. is the proportion of deaths from drink, and, making every allowance for Orientalism, the statement is terribly appalling.

I quite admit, that the throne of the Empress of India is founded on Righteousness, and that the British Nation is only permitted to rule over that great country on the condition, that their Rule should be righteous; but Truth is usually coupled with Righteousness, and here it appeared to be entirely dissociated. A French downright hater of Great Britain would have carefully collected his facts and marshalled his authorities. An English Clergyman, and a Member of the British Parliament, seemed under no such necessity. A line of Juvenal came to my recollection :

“Quid Romæ faciam? mentiri nescio.”

I left the Hall, feeling, with many others, that the Liquor Merchants had effected a great triumph. Truth was the only weapon, with which we could meet them: with carefully collected facts, and tested statistics, the Committee of the Missionary Societies had prepared for a direct attack on the common enemy, the Merchants of Great Britain, Germany, France, and America. Some of the Missionary Societies of the last-mentioned Country had expressed to me their entire concurrence in the attempt that was to be made. By the speeches of the Archdeacon, and Mr. Samuel Smith, the whole character of the struggle was altered: the attack was now upon the constitutional Government of British India, or rather on the Covenanted servants of that Government: it was a charge of a character worse than that made by Cicero upon Verres, inasmuch as the plunder of Provinces from personal greed is a less heinous offence than the systematic poisoning of the bodies and souls of a great and historic Nation for the miserable object of adding a few Lakhs of Rupees to the Revenue of the State.

Moreover, if the speakers only understood their brief, they must have felt that the line of Juvenal applied to them :

“Dant veniam corvis : vexat censura columbam.”

The British Merchant, who brought the Brandy and Whisky and Gin and choice wines in such abundance to India, the British Planters of the Mauritius, who flooded Bombay with Rum, were the real offenders, if any tangible offence existed. With singular inconsistency, after Sir Charles Warren and the Negro Missionary James Johnson had pleaded earnestly and truly for Africa, after Mr. Caine, M.P., had made a speech about Egypt, which had no bearing upon the subject, after Mr. Horace Waller had vainly striven to bring back the Meeting to the region of common sense and calm judgment, the following resolutions were passed, which bear no relation whatever to the false and libellous statements of the chief speakers, and which clearly indicate, that this attack upon the Government of India was not contemplated by the Director and Secretaries of the Church of England Temperance Society, for no one can hesitate for a moment in giving their hearty consent to these Resolutions :

“1. That the traffic in strong drink, as now carried on by “merchants belonging to Christian nations in India, Africa, and “most of the colonies and dependencies of the British Empire, “has become the source of wholesale demoralization and ruin “to the native races, and is proving a fatal stumbling-block to “the progress of the Gospel among them.

“2. That in the interests of Christianity and humanity the “facts bearing on the traffic and its results should be made “more generally known to the people of England and other “countries, with a view to the formation of a sound public “opinion, and eventually to the passing of legislative enact- “ments for the repression of such traffic.

“3. That for this purpose a Committee be formed, to include, “besides members of the Executive of the Church of England “Temperance Society, representatives of the leading Missionary “and Temperance Societies.”

But the mischief did not end with the Meeting. No one would have troubled themselves with the platform speeches of a travelling Member of Parliament, the creature of the hour: we have known the genus in India for the last forty years, the man who asks questions, makes copious notes, and looks, as if he

could see through a millstone. King Solomon remarks, that there were three things which were too wonderful for him, and four which he knew not: but in modern time there is a fifth, which is beyond the comprehension of the most wise, it is the way, in which the travelling Member of Parliament is gulled, and the plausibility, with which he tries on his return to England to gull others. He meets an intelligent-looking man in the Railway carriage, or passes a night at the house of the most crotchety man of the Station, and he stuffs his travelling bag with crude undigested facts, and then gives it out on a Manchester or Liverpool platform with the air of a Prophet, who has just come down from the Mountain, forgetting that the Science of Rule of subject Millions is the greatest and noblest of Sciences, only mastered by few after the study and practice of decades, and not during the excited tour of six weeks. But the chief orator on this occasion was a man of a different stamp, a real man, one of the greatest of the Metropolitan Clergy, one who has done for the young men of London more than any living man, one whose written works are read by thousands, and whose spoken words are listened to by hundreds, in fact, one of the great Workers and Speakers of the period.

What was to be done? It was clear to me what I must do, viz. at once to resign my seat on the proposed Committee, and to decline any joint action with the Society, until these speeches were as openly disallowed, as they were openly applauded. Canon Ellison in his reply to my letter stated that, "as far as he knew, no attempt had been made to disprove the statements contained in the Pamphlet: he further stated, that the object of the Committee was to sift and test such assertions; to disprove, if truth should require it, quite as much as to prove, and in some cases to vindicate the character of Governments unjustly assailed. He assured me, that the Committee could be in no way responsible for the statements made at the Meeting: he begged me finally to continue on the General and Executive Committees." At a subsequent date I was invited to join the Sub-Committee, appointed to consider the reply of the Viceroy of India, which will be noticed below. From the first I felt that Canon Ellison and the Church of England Temperance Society were not responsible for the indiscreet utterances made in Prince's Hall, but I felt also, that I could serve the cause, the great



cause, which we all had in common, by standing aloof, waging my own battle, and trying to clear the air of these clouds of ignorance, and make the way open to an advance, based on facts and the Truth, not on sensational and inaccurate statements.

Mr. Horace Waller entirely agreed with me: as he was one of the Speakers at the Prince's Hall Meeting, he was stout-hearted enough to speak out his mind, and tell the audience, "that a man, who is intemperate in his facts, is "just as much a dram-drinker to his own harm, as any dram-drinker of the ordinary kind, and that figures could be "brought together and presented to a meeting, which *were a "great many degrees above proof."* These honest remarks were hooted by an excited audience, who only cared to listen to Prophets, who prophesied according to their own views. It was determined not to dissolve, but only suspend the action of the representative Committee of the Missionary Societies; it would not have been wise to allow this great subject to fall exclusively into the power of the Committee of the Church of England Temperance Society, which was clearly under the temporary influence of Fanatics, but which in a short time would recover its equilibrium, and become the centre of renewed efforts in the great cause.

I lost no time in forwarding a copy of the Report of the speeches of the Meeting to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India, praying, that means should be at once adopted to disprove the assertion, "that it is the policy of "Government to encourage drunkenness in India with a view "of increasing the Revenue," and I was assured that the charge was groundless: that the consumption of spirits was repressed by a repressively high duty, and that since 1872, in consequence of improved Excise administration, the number of liquor-shops had steadily and appreciably decreased, notwithstanding the increase of the population during that period. I addressed the Under Secretary of State for India privately at his house, pointing out the extreme gravity of the statements made, and the receipt of my letter was acknowledged. A despatch was expected in a few weeks from the Viceroy of India in reply to the Pamphlet of the Church of England Temperance Society, sent out in the previous autumn. The task, which I set before myself, divided itself into three heads :

I. Did the British in very deed find the people of India total abstainers from the use of spirituous liquors and drugs, or even temperate users of the same ?

II. Has it been the policy of the State, and of the Servants of the State, to enhance the Revenue of the Excise at the expense of the morals of the people ?

III. Has the Revenue of the Excise increased beyond what was to be expected from a people doubled in population, quadrupled in wealth, and exposed to the insidious dangers, which accompany an advance in Civilisation, and increased intercourse with other Nations, those Nations famous for wholesale export of spirituous liquors ?

The first point was historical, and my proofs had to be collected from a long list of Sanskrit, Pali, Persian, and Hindustáni writers ; extending over more than two thousand years : fortunately for my argument, just as the use of wine for purposes of intoxication can be traced back to the time of Noah, so in India the use of intoxicating liquor is vouched for in the Veda, the most ancient and sacred of Hindu Books, and can be traced, as I shall proceed to show, from generation to generation to the present time in the Hindu, Buddhist, Mahometan and Sikh annals. The second point, and the third, would rest upon the expected despatch of the Viceroy, upon the Report of the Bengal Commission of 1883, 1884, and the Annual Administration-Reports of British India, presented each year to Parliament. Things in British India are fortunately not done in a corner, and the Government of India is famous for its outspokenness, for the naked way, in which it exposes both the successes, and the failures, of its administration : the quinquennial change of every high Officer of State alone renders this possible. There is no desire of an hereditary blockhead to screen the errors of his scoundrel ancestor. Each Viceroy, and each Governor, knows well, that he leaves his character behind him. Lord Dufferin's despatch, dated June 25th, 1887, was published on the 4th August, but did not reach me till September 10th, just as I was starting on a long journey to Morocco : so I contented myself for the time with a letter to the *Times*, which appeared on the 16th of that month, as a cartel thrown down to my antagonists, and on my return I proceed to make my reply to Archdeacon Farrar's thesis in detail. I deal first with the first part :

“ We found India sober.”

It so happened, that in 1873 a very distinguished Hindu Scholar of Calcutta, Lala Rajendra Lala Mitra, President of the Bengal Asiatic Society, published in the Journal of that Society an essay on the use of spirituous liquors by the Hindu, tracing the practice by quotations from the most esteemed Sanskrit authors from the earliest ages: to me it seemed, when I first read this essay, in exceedingly bad taste thus to parade the weaknesses of his countrymen, and I should think poorly of an English literary man, who out of pure malice traced back by quotations from Shakespeare, Chaucer, and Caedmon, the drunkenness of the Anglo-Saxon up to the time of the origin of the race; yet this great Sanskrit scholar took the trouble to do so in 1873, and in 1881 republished it with other of his learned essays in his collective volumes, "Indo-Aryans, Contributions towards the Elucidation of their Ancient and Mediæval History." As in the foot-notes of his essay he gives the original Sanskrit quotations from each author quoted in extenso, any one, who knows Sanskrit, can satisfy himself of their accuracy. The quotations are easily accessible from the great Epic and Dramatic Authors, and the Veda, and I have them in my private library: it is indeed a most astonishing revelation; perhaps one ought to have expected it, but I certainly did not do so. I attributed the deplorable habits of intoxication, so notorious among certain races and tribes, to a decadence from a higher standard of life, rather than an uninterrupted continuance from their cradle.

Rajendra Lal remarks, that drinks have a peculiar charm, which enable them to hold their ground against the deductions of Science, and mandates of Religion; that the history of Mahometan civilization illustrated this assertion, for no one condemned more emphatically the use of wine than Mahomet, and yet that there is no Mahometan country, where the consumption is not considerable. Gibbon remarked cynically last century, that the vines of Shiráz have always prevailed over the law of Mahomet. When the Indic branch of the Aryan race crossed the Hindu-Kush at some remote period into the Panjáb, the earliest Brahman settlers indulged largely in "Soma"-beer, and strong spirits. To the Gods the most acceptable offering was "Soma"-beer, and wine or spirit, which in India are identical, was sold in the shops. In the Rig-Veda Sanhita (Wilson, vol. ii. p. 204) occurs a hymn, which shows, that

wine was kept in leather bottles, and freely sold to all comers. A minority of authorities doubt, whether "Soma" was intoxicating, but all admit that "Sarā" or Arrack, manufactured from rice-meal, and also alluded to in the Rig-Veda, was highly so : and this clearly shows, that the Vedic Hindu of a period long anterior to the Christian era did countenance the use of spirits : but Professor Whitney clearly proves, that "Soma" was intoxicating : it is supposed to have been the juice of a climbing plant, the "Asclepias acida," which was extracted, fermented, and produced exhilaration grateful to the Priests. The liquid had power to elevate the spirits, and produce a temporary frenzy, under the influence of which an individual was prompted to do, and found capable of doing, deeds beyond his natural powers. Soma was therefore deemed divine, and became a Deity, the myth running on parallel lines to that of Dionysus or Bacchus, who came from India into Hellas.

As time went on, the later Veda forbade the use of spirits for the purpose of animal gratification, and said, that drinking was as bad as the murder of a Brahman. The Smṛiti included wine-bibbing among the five capital crimes, and ordered the severest punishment. Manu 500 B.C. and others, denounced the use, and fortified their dicta by legendary tales of frightful punishments ; yet it is clear, that at no period in their history has the Hindu Nation abstained. Priests and respectable and pious householders did so, but they were but a fraction of the community, and there was at all times, as there is now, a considerable amount of hypocrisy on the subject. Sanskrit literature, both ancient and mediæval, leaves no doubt, by its casual allusions, and unpremeditated admission, that wine was extensively used by all classes at all times with rare exceptions of individuals. Manu found the public feeling so strong, that he remarks, that there is no turpitude in drinking ; but that abstinence produces a signal compensation. The Soldier and the Merchant (or in other words the Kshatriya Rajpūt, and the Vaisya, or Trader, both of whom belonged to the order of the Dwija or Twice-born) must not drink Arrack, but were allowed the choice of all other liquors, whose name was legion ; the Sudra, or lower class, might indulge freely without restraint : the Brahman, or highest class, must totally abstain.

The Rules or aphorisms known as the "Sūtra" are dated some about 600 B.C. anterior to Manu, and some later : the Brahmana

are of various dates, the Aitareya being fixed at 700 B.C. : in them we find, that not only the Soma and Sará retained their firm hold of the people, but we read of new candidates for the public taste, the Mohwa or *Bassia latifolia*, so popular as a drink to this day, the Gandi or Sugar-rum, the Tari, or Toddy, from the Palm : so the drinks of the Hindu, as well as their Castes, and Religious rites, and magnificent literature, have an unbroken lineage of at least twenty-six centuries.

In the fascinating Epic Poem of the Ramáyana by Valmíki, which has been my delight for more than forty years, we find frequent notices of wine and drinking. The great Sage Visvámitra, himself the reputed author of some of the hymns of the Rig-Veda, entertained the great sage Vasishtha with Maireya (or Rum) and Sará (or Arrack). Bharadwája, another great Sage, offered wine to Bharata, King of Ayodya, and his soldiers, who stayed one night with him during their search for Rama. Sita, the beautiful and faithful wife of Rama (himself an incarnation of the Supreme Deity), promised to offer to the River Goddess, Jamna, in the event of her safe return, one thousand jars of Arrack. Nor was she herself, nor her husband, the Incarnation of Vishnu, averse from the cheering cup, for we read in the last book of the noble Epic, how Rama, embracing Sita with both his hands, made her drink pure Maireya wine or Rum, even as the God Indra makes Sachi partake of nectar. Nor was the practice confined to the Court, for it is incidentally mentioned, that King Bharata found his city Ayodya plunged in grief for the loss of Rama, one symptom of grief being the absence of the exhilarating aroma of Arrack. Moreover, in the palaces of Sugriva, the King of the Monkeys, and of Ravana, the King of the Rakhsha, the greatest glory was the smell of Arrack, as the Poets could not conceive the notion of luxury, joy and splendour, without the presence of intoxicating liquor in ample abundance.

In the Mahabharata, another magnificent Epic of a later date than the Ramáyana, the leading characters, whether Heroes, or Demigods, or Krishna, himself the Incarnation of the Supreme Deity, are described as indulging in strong drinks, and no pleasure party was complete without them : we read of Krishna, and Arjuna with their wives and sisters and daughters indulging in drink. Queen Sudeshna is described as sending her maid to get a flagon of good drink for her use : the Yadava,

of whose race Krishna was born in the flesh, are described as being so overcome with drink at a seaside watering-place, that they destroyed each other in sheer drunkenness.

The doctrines of Buddha must have contributed much to check drunkenness, and the use of wine, as well as of flesh, but could not suppress either. The Játaka and Avadána abound with stories of drunkenness: it must be recollected, that the Játaka are the narratives of the former births of Buddha himself: whether they are historical, or fanciful tales, they reflect the notions of their compilers on this subject. In the sculptures of Sanchi are figures of ladies of high rank, and their attendants holding cups and flagons. In a Buddhist drama, the Nagananda, the plot turns upon the vagaries of a drunkard, who had for his love one of the attendants of the Queen. In other love-scenes the lover is described as offering overflowing goblets to his lady-love. We may look at the subject from another point of view. Mr. Spence Hardy, in his Manual of Buddhism, tells us, how the use of intoxicating liquors is forbidden: when only as much tari, or toddy, is drunk, as can be held in the palm of the hand, it is a minor offence: it is greater, when the amount can be held in both hands; and greater still, when so much is drunk, that all things turn round. To constitute the crime of drinking there must be (1) intoxicating liquors made from flour, bread, or other kind of food: (2) actual intoxication produced by these liquors: (3) they must be taken with the intention of producing the effect: (4) they must be taken of free will. Many a regular toper would escape punishment by an ingenious application of these rules. Moreover, the Christian Moralist would scarcely think the Buddhist motive for temperance sufficient, being only to avoid the six evil consequences, (1) loss of wealth; (2) arising of quarrels; (3) production of diseases, like sore eyes; (4) bringing down the disgrace of rebuke from Parents or Superiors; (5) exposure to shame for going about naked; (6) loss of judgment for carrying on the affairs of the world. It is clear, that the use of liquor taken moderately was not deemed wrong, and that worldly advantage was the only incentive to induce a man not to degrade himself to the position of a beast by getting drunk.

The great Dramatist Kalidása probably lived after the Christian era: the latest date assigned is 600 A.D.: in the famous drama of the Sakontala, the Superintendent of the

Police, who is also brother of the King, proposes to spend the present, which he had received, in a glass of good liquor at the next wine-shop. An English Policeman could not have been more pronounced in his taste for strong drink. In the fine Heroic Poem, the Raghuvansa, by the same Poet, one of the grandest of Poems, drinking booths are described as being set up at Rajamandri by the soldiers of Raghu, an ancestor of Rama, to drink the famous cocoa-nut liquor of that place. It is clear also, that women of quality drank in their husband's society; for in the great Poem by Kalidása, the Kumára Sambhava, Rati, the Indian Venus, the wife of Kama, the God of Love, mourning the loss of her husband, says, "Rice-liquor" (alias arrack) which caused the reddened eyes to roll, and "speech to get disjointed at every step, has in thy absence "become a torture to poor women." In the same Poem it is described, how the ladies rushed to the window to see a procession, and evolved the odour of arrack, which they had drunk.

The Purána vary in date: the oldest has been placed in the sixth century of the Christian era; the latest in the thirteenth, or even the sixteenth century: they abound in descriptions of wine and drinking, and, though the object of many of them is to condemn the use of wine, the inference is clear, that there was a widespread malady, which they proposed to overcome. The Bhagávata Purána enjoins the use of spirit by the Brahmans at one particular rite. In another Purána the great Goddess Dúrگا is represented as particularly addicted to strong drinks.

Other quotations from later authors could be made ad libitum, more particularly from the poetical literature, to show how frequently references are made to drinking among the higher classes. The Tantra are books of a later date than the Purána, and are of extreme importance with reference to the life of the modern Hindu: the Saiva Tantra gives full liberty to their votaries to indulge in drinking spirits. No worship to the Devi can be complete without wine, and the worshippers sit round a jar of arrack, and drink, and drink, till they fall to the ground in utter helplessness. The most appropriate way of drinking liquor is in the mystic circle, but, as this cannot be got every day, the devotee takes the bulk of his potations *after his evening prayer.*

Pulastya, an ancient sage, and author of one of the Smriti, of a remote and uncertain age, enumerates twelve different kinds

of liquor beside the Soma-beer: they are (1) the Jack, (2) the grape, (3) the honey, (4) the date, (5) the palm, (6) the sugar-cane, (7) the Mohwa, (8) the long-pepper, (9) the soap-berry, (10) the rum, (11) the cocoa-nut, (12) the arrack or rice: the mode of preparing all these liquors is described in one of the Tantra, and they were all taken neat, and it was necessary to eat a wine-biscuit with them, to remove the smarting in the mouth caused by raw spirit. These wine-biscuits had many technical names, and one of the names of the great God Siva, the third of the Triad, is "Lord of wine-biscuits." No drinking party was complete without these titbits.

We learn from Arrian's Periplus of the Erythræan Sea, that quantities of foreign wine were regularly imported into India two thousand years ago, and met a ready sale. The varieties mentioned are from Laodicea, Italy and Arabia: they were more costly than the Native wines, and only used by the rich. History seems to repeat itself; and the British Shipper, Distiller and Brewer had his prototype, and is but a servile imitator of the astute Greeks!

Medical works of the Hindu tell us of the diseases, which were the sure punishment of intemperance: we find in Sanskrit the word "wine-horror," suggesting delirium tremens: wine-disease, suggesting gout: wine-death, suggesting the well-known phrase "drank himself to death." The description of the diseases is given in Sanskrit words. Such names could not have come into existence, had there not been immoderate drinking in many instances to give rise to the complaint. In medical works there are a number of recipes for removing the odour of wine from the mouth. We have seen, how in elder days the aroma of spirits was not concealed, but welcomed, even from the mouths of ladies: a more hypocritical age tried to hunt with total abstainers and run with the drunkards: there was clearly a class of rich men. who drank in secret, and wished to pass among their neighbours as total abstainers, like the women in Europe who in this generation drink liquors sent in by the Grocer's stores, and get rid of the smell with peppermint lozenges.

I feel a sort of compunction in thus exposing the venerable Veda, and the charming Epics, and Dramas of the Hindu to scorn: they have been the delight of my life. No one, who had read Horace or Juvenal, can doubt that the Romans drank



more than was good for them : Homer tells us in the *Odyssee* iii. 139 :

*ὄνῳ βεβαρήσεται υἱοὶ Ἀχαιῶν,*

and he himself is said never to have prosecuted his labour as a poet till he was well drunk. We cannot doubt that the Greeks drank. The great catena of Greek authors could be quoted to show that they drank and drank to excess : they attributed to their Gods the same weaknesses as their own : otherwise what occasion had Jupiter for Hebe and Ganymede as cup-bearers ? When Mercury visited Calypso, she served him with drink. Minerva was the only one of the Immortals who never drank : if it be argued, that this was only the fancy of the Poets, I reply, "Just so : their writings reflect "the feelings of their own age, whether in India or Hellas : "they do not allude to Railways and Telegraph, but they do "to drink, because they and their hearers knew what it was." When Peter with the Apostles were charged with being full of new wine, he did not repel the insinuation as a gross insult, but remarked that it was not the third hour of the day, or, as Dean Alford puts it, "he showed the improbability of intoxication at that hour of the morning" : hence a fair inference that some of the Jews at that period drank. We cannot admit, that the Hindu Nation were a good innocent people, who did not know how to make fermented beverages, how to distil, how to import from Europe, how to drink to intoxication like brute beasts, how to acquire frightful diseases, how to get rid of the odour of wine from their mouths, and to play the part of sanctified total abstainers, until they had been taught all these tricks by the British Collector of Revenue, anxious to increase the Excise : and yet it is necessary to place these facts on record.

But perhaps the Pagan tribes of India, who lie outside of the Hindu and Mahometan Civilisation and Religion, according to the Poets and popular fancy leading rude and simple pastoral lives in secluded valleys, or on the slopes of the Himalaya, had escaped this contamination. Up to this day, many of them have scarcely seen a European, or visited a City. Forty years ago Mr. Brian Hodgson thus wrote of the Bodo and Dhimal on the confines of Assam, "They use abundance "of fermented liquor made of rice, or millet : it is not un- "pleasant. Brewing, and not distilling, seems the characteristic

"of all non-Arian races, all of whom make beer, and not spirits :  
 "the process is very simple: the grain is boiled: a plant is mixed  
 "with it, and it is left to ferment: in four days the liquor is  
 "ready: the plant for fermenting is grown at home: this tribe  
 "use tobacco, but not opium or distilled liquor. I do not  
 "brand them with the name of drunkards, though they certainly  
 "love a merry cup in *honour of their Gods* at the high festivals  
 "of their religion: among my own servants the Bodo have  
 "never been drunk: the Mahometan and Hindu several times  
 "excessively so." There was no Excise, or any constraint, at  
 that time.

The Mahometans conquered India about 800 A.D.: many  
 aliens settled in India: some Hindu were converted by force,  
 or fraud, or for desire of gain: thousands of wild Non-Aryan  
 tribes have accepted a veneer of Mahometanism, but are Pagan  
 still. Even the converted Hindu retain the Caste-names, and  
 the Hindu law with regard to Marriage and Succession. We  
 have fortunately full accounts of the way of living of the  
 Emperors and Nobles, but scant notice of the ways of the  
 lower class. History is generally silent about them.

Here is a contemporary's peep into the life of Mahmúd of  
 Ghazni, the first invader of India:

"The Amir said to Abd-u Razzak: 'Shall we drink a little  
 "wine?' Accordingly much wine was brought into the garden,  
 "and fifty goblets placed in the middle of a small tent. The  
 "Amir said, 'Let us drink fair measure, and fill the cups evenly,  
 "in order that there may be no unfairness.' They began to  
 "get jolly. Bu-i Hasan drank five goblets: his head was  
 "affected at the sixth: he lost his senses at the seventh, and  
 "began to vomit at the eighth, when the servants carried  
 "him off. Bu-ala, the physician, drooped his head at the  
 "fifth cup, and was carried off. Khalil Daud drank ten: Suja  
 "Biruz nine: and both were borne away. Bu-Nain drank  
 "twelve and ran off: when the Khwaja had drunk twelve cups  
 "he made his obeisance and said to the Amir, 'If you give  
 "your slave any more, he will lose his respect to your Majesty,  
 "as well as his own wits.' The Amir laughed, and went on  
 "drinking. He drank twenty-seven goblets: he then arose,  
 "and called for a basin of water, and his praying-carpet, washed  
 "his face, and recited *the midday prayers as well as the after-*  
 "*noon ones*, and he so acquitted himself that you would not have

“said that he had drunk a single cup: he then returned to the Palace on an elephant. I witnessed the whole scene with my eye.—*Tarikh-i Subuktegin*, Elliot’s “Historians of India,” vol. ii. p. 145.

“Sultan Muizz-ud-dunya plunged at once into dissipation: his companions all joined him: the example spread, and all ranks, high and low, learned and unlearned, acquired a taste for wine-drinking. Night and day the Sultan gave himself up entirely to dissipation and enjoyment. One of the nobles said: ‘Suppose you kill the drunken insensate king by some villainous contrivance.’”—Elliot’s “Historians,” vol. iii. pp. 126-129.

“Sultan Ala-ud-din prohibited wine-drinking and wine-selling, and also the use of beer and drugs. Jars and casks of wine were brought up from the royal cellars, and emptied into the streets in such quantities, that mud and mire was formed. The dissolute used to make and distil wine clandestinely, and drink at a great price: they put it into leather bags and conveyed it in hay and firewood. By hundreds of devices it was brought into the city: when seized the wine was given to the elephants to drink: the sellers were flogged and sent to prison, but the numbers increased so, that holes for their incarceration were dug outside the gate: the severity of this confinement caused many to die: those, who could not give up the habit, went out to the fords of the River, and procured liquor; the horror of confinement deterred others. Desperate men still drank, and even sold liquor: seeing this difficulty, the Sultan ordered, that, if the liquor was distilled in private houses, and consumed in secret, and no parties were found drunk, it might go on.”

Baber, the great conqueror of India, the founder of the Moghul dynasty, was a constant and jovial toper: many a drunken party is recorded in his Memoirs: even in the middle of a campaign there is no interruption of his excessive jollity. *Ex. gr.* “We continued at this place drinking till the sun was on the decline: those who had been of the party were completely drunk. Saiyad Khan was so drunk, that two of his servants were obliged to put him on horseback, and brought him to the camp with difficulty. Dost Mahommed Bakur was so far gone, that they could not get him on horseback: they poured a quantity of water over him, but to no purpose. A

“body of the Afghans (the enemy) appeared in sight, and they  
“threw him on a horse, and brought him off.”

On some occasions they contrived to be drunk four times in twenty-four hours: they began to drink and kept up the party *until evening prayers* (they were strict Mahometans).

Baber writes himself: “I now want something less than one  
“year of forty years, and I drink wine most copiously.” In 1527 A.D. he began a course of rigorous reform, and there is something picturesque in the very solemn and remarkable account of this great revolution in his habits: however, his indulgence had shortened his days. He was a truly great man, in spite of all his weaknesses, and showed his greatness in his manly struggle against his habits of intemperance: “Hostium victor et sui.”

I had collected the above quotations before I started on my late expedition to Morocco: on my return I find upon my table additional evidence of the gross intemperance of the Mahometans in India collected for a totally different purpose in the columns of the Church Missionary Intelligencer of December 1887, p. 727. This is the Society, to whose service I have devoted myself for many years, and by an odd chance the father of Archdeacon Farrar was of this Society an honoured Missionary, and his Maráthi hymns are still sung in the Native Churches of Western India. The statements which I quote were made by a writer, who knew what he was about, having been many years a Chaplain in India, and they were made in reply to one of the greatest paradoxes of modern time, an attempt on the part of a beneficed Clergyman of the Church of England to prove, that Mahometanism to certain races was a more suitable religion than Christianity, and that Mahometans were total abstainers.

“On this supposed abolition of drunkenness, a much bewildered correspondent of the *Guardian* (October 19th) recalls “the memory of Selim the Sot, the temporal and spiritual “head of Islam, and that drink cut short the splendid career “of Amurath IV. We read in *Mountstuart Elphinstone* (vol. ii. “p. 49) that Alá-ud-dín’s constitution had yielded to a long “course of intemperance. When he was beset with con- “spiracies, his counsellors traced his troubles to convivial “meetings, where men opened their thoughts to each other. “The Emperor Baber tried to persuade a friend to leave off

"wine, but he admitted that drinking was a very pleasant  
 "thing with old friends and companions. Elphinstone  
 "remarks, that it would have been fortunate, if Baber had left  
 "off drinking wine sooner, for there seems good reason to  
 "think his indulgence in it tended to shorten his days.  
 "Many a drinking party is recorded in his memoirs. Akbar's  
 "third son, Dániál, when debarred by his father's order from  
 "wine, had liquor conveyed to him in the barrel of a fowling-  
 "piece, and thus, having free access to indulgence, brought  
 "his life to a close in the thirtieth year of his age. Akbar  
 "himself, in his youth, indulged in wine and good living.  
 "Sir Thomas Roe tells us, that Jehangfr never left off drinking  
 "till he fell asleep, scarcely one of the party remaining sober.  
 "In his drunkenness he talked with great liberality of all  
 "religions; then he fell to weeping and to various passions  
 "which kept them till midnight. It was when he was recover-  
 "ing from a fit of drunkenness that he was seized and deposed.  
 "Shah Shuja, the son of Shah Jehan, was given up to wine  
 "and pleasure: he was a mere drunkard. His brother,  
 "Morad, was seized when in a helpless state of intoxication,  
 "and imprisoned and murdered by Aurangzib. It would be  
 "easy to extend this bead-roll of Mahometan monarchs, who  
 "have been amongst the most conspicuous drunkards of their  
 "times."

And another writer tell us: "So far as abstinence from strong  
 "drink is concerned, Moslems do show how much may be  
 "accomplished by repressive measures, and we may take a  
 "lesson from them; but with regard to inebriating drugs their  
 "example is quite the other way, and of the two their vice is  
 "the worse. The tendency of intoxication through drink is to  
 "delirium tremens, which is a suicidal mania; but the tendency  
 "of inebriation through bhang is to a homicidal mania. The  
 "delirious Mahometan 'runs a muck'; armed with daggers  
 "and other life-destroying weapons, he runs through town or  
 "country stabbing, maiming, and killing every man, woman, or  
 "child whom he meets. I well remember the suffering and  
 "terror, that were caused on one occasion, when four such  
 "maniacs 'ran a muck' in one day, with such violence, that the  
 "authorities turned out a company of soldiers and shot them  
 "down. It was summary vengeance, but the only way of saving  
 "innocent lives. I do not think that such cases are now as

“frequent in India and Ceylon as they were forty years since, and I think that the indirect influence of Christianity has caused the decrease.”

Nor is it peculiar to India : the Odes of the celebrated Poet Hafiz tell us how “his spiritual guide went from the Mosque to the Wine-shop,” and he makes an appeal to the Cup-bearer to “pass on good wine, for he would not find in Paradise such charms as the world bestowed.” I quote from the Missionary Periodical of the Universities Mission in Central Africa :

“Islam,” says Canon Taylor, “has abolished drunkenness.” “Has it? Night after night we took up dozens, I may say, of drunkards in the streets of Zanzibar. Many high-class natives were drunkards on the sly; and, when a Moslem does drink, he will pawn his last rag for liquor, or, as was frequently the case with the men we apprehended, would commit robbery solely for the purpose of gratifying their love of liquor; but enough may have been said, if not to convince Canon Taylor, yet to convince others. He has not perhaps travelled in Mahometan countries. If he has not, he may never have seen drunken Mahometans, but we have. The Teedec, a most fanatical people in North Africa, are conspicuous for drunkenness.”

There is a famous story in Mahometan Books, how a Cazi, whose duty it was to punish drinkers, privately indulged in drink at night, and was in the early morning caught in the act by his Sovereign, who was about to decapitate him, when he begged, that the shutters of the windows open to the East might be opened, and he be informed from which quarter of the horizon the Sun was rising. When told, that it was from the East, he quoted from the Koran, “So long as the Sun rises from the East, so long will God have mercy on His children.” He then knelt down submissive to his fate: he had learnt something from the Koran better than Temperance, viz. Faith and Submission to the Divine Decree. This is Islám.

In the time of the Emperor Baber, a new Sect of the Hindu Religion came into existence, founded by Baba Nanak, and became so influential, that their tenets are often talked of as a separate Religion: it was an upheaval of the lower classes, and a war against Caste. All fanatics and lawgivers must forbid something. Moses and Mahomet forbade pork: the Popes of Rome forbade a large and influential portion of the community,

male and female, to marry: the Total Abstinence Society forbids liquor: Baba Nanak forbade tobacco. Smoking is a nasty habit, but it scarcely amounts to a sin. The day will come, when an Anti-Smoking Society will arise: all such prohibitions are limitations of Christian liberty, and I protest against Total Abstinence being made anything more than a very proper moral inculcation to youth. Baba Nanak forbade tobacco: the Sikhs took it out in another quarter :

*Naturam expellas furcâ, tamen usque recurret :*

they became terrible consumers of opium, decoction of poppy-heads, and spirituous liquors generally. I lived many happy years in their midst. I was present at the taking of Lahore, and the conquest of the country, and we found liquor-shops in abundance, and decoction of poppy-heads, called Post, set out in brass cups for free sale like ginger beer in London, and, as I was placed in charge of one of the newly-conquered districts, one of my first duties was to regulate the number of shops for sale of liquors, take the sale of opium entirely into the control of the State, and impose a heavy tax on intoxicating liquors. The Sikhs are a magnificent race in stature, living long lives, and having large families, and yet they habitually took their daily opium pill, and lay like logs on the ground, until the narcotic had worked itself off.

In the History of the Panjab published in two volumes by Messrs. Allen in 1846, I find it noted, that the famous Maharâja Ranjît Singh, the putative father of the well-known Dulip Singh, was unreserved in all his habits, and his diet consisted of high stimulants, of which he partook sparingly. At his interview with Lord Auckland, the Governor-General, in 1838, Ranjît Singh desired, that His Lordship should take part in the drinking, and drain the cup of fiery liquid to the dregs. This excess produced upon the Maharâja such a severe fit of apoplexy, that Lord Auckland took leave of him lying on his couch, scarcely able to articulate. His wine was extracted from raisins, a quantity of pearls being ground to powder and mixed with it: it was made for Ranjît Singh alone: he sometimes gave a few bottles to his Chiefs. It was as strong as Brandy: the only food allowed at his drinking feasts was fat quails, stuffed with sage, and this abominable liquid fire. His sensual indulgences were the vices of his country.

His grandson Maharája Nou Nihál Singh in his moral habits was an example to the corrupt Court, being sober, and comparatively temperate amidst the debauchery round him. He was killed at the age of twenty-two. Maharája Sher Singh, son of Ranjít Singh, was a good-natured sensualist, and solaced himself with an unrestrained indulgence in every species of intemperance. He was killed and was succeeded by a supposititious child, named Dulip Singh, so well known in England: the officers of the Army proceeded to the Palace and remonstrated against the brother of the Maharája's mother continuing as Chief Minister, reproaching him to his face with drunkenness. He was so drunk, that he could not hold a Durbar, and the Mother of Maharája Dulip Singh, besides her unbridled profligacy with her paramour, indulged in similar excesses, and in August, 1845, her faculties became seriously impaired by these indulgences: she used to sink into a state of stupor, from which she could only be raised by the stimulus of strong drink; on one occasion a letter from the Governor-General awaited a reply, but none could be sent because the Mother and Uncle of the Maharája Dulip Singh, *and the boy himself*, aged 6, were all drunk: on the following day there was no Durbar, because the Wazir, and the Members of the Council, were intoxicated.

It is not pleasant to me thus to expose the weaknesses of any class of Her Majesty's subjects, whether in Westminster or Lahore; but, since it has been distinctly laid down by Archdeacon Farrar at a public meeting that the British Government found India sober, it is necessary, distinctly, and by quotations, to show, that that statement is not exact. I could have added indefinitely to the number of quotations: there is scarcely a battle, which we have fought in India, in which it is not recorded, that the soldiers of the enemy were encouraged to the fight by copious libations of Arrack. It is an unquestionable fact, that a large number of the classes, of which the Indian population is composed, habitually drink; that weddings are always accompanied by additional supplies of wine, specially got in for the purpose, as indeed was the marriage of Cana in Galilee, and a modern wedding in any part of Europe: that there is a special Caste, called the Kulál, or wine-seller, and that it might as well be said, that the British introduced the use of gunpowder, and calico garments, as of liquor and drugs.



I now proceed to the second part of the Thesis :

**“And we left India drunken.”**

Nature has supplied the people of India with an abundance and variety of intoxicating liquors, and stupefying drugs, beyond the lot of any other nation. There is indeed a lack of grape wine, and the brewing of European beer has only been introduced for the benefit of the European community; but sugar to make rum, hemp to produce charas, and bhang, rice to produce Arrack, the palm tree to produce the Tari or Toddy, the Mohwa or *Bassia latifolia* to produce the celebrated liquor, the Poppy to produce the opium, and the poppy-decoction called Post in the North of India, and Kusumbha in the South, the Cereals ready for the preparation of Gin in any form; all these deadly ingredients, and many others, grow spontaneously with the smallest amount of culture: the process of brewing, or distilling, is of the simplest character: the price is ridiculously low and the wild character of a great part of the country is all in favour of the smuggler, and illicit distiller, or the still in the privacy of the secluded house. In the memory of man the British troops used to be employed in Ireland to hunt for illicit stills in the Mountainous tracts, and the smuggler on the Coast of Great Britain has only been got rid of by an entire change of the financial system. The problem presented to the Government of India was one of the most complicated and difficult. But it was clearly the duty of the Government, and the Government did not shrink from the discharge of that duty, at a time, when its power was not so overwhelming and undisputed as it is now.

In the *Ayín Akbari* there is a list of taxes remitted by Akbar, among them is a tax on spirituous liquors, but it appears, that it was reimposed, for it appears in later fiscal statements. In the Province of Bengal in 1722, under the Nawabs this tax existed, and we found it, when we assumed the Government in 1763 A.D., but it was exceedingly light, and in 1785 a bottle of spirituous liquor could be purchased for one pice, about a half-penny, sufficient in amount to make a man drunk. Complaints were then rife of the spread of drunkenness among the lower classes, and just one century ago, 1789, the matter was taken up by Mr. John Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, and President of the British and Foreign Bible Society, one of the most high-minded, pious, and benevolent of men, and the ablest of Indian

Statesmen. Lord Cornwallis was then Governor General, and in 1790 by his orders a notification was issued, that no person should hereafter make or vend spirituous liquors, except on the part of Government, and the Collectors of Land Revenue were charged with the duty of carrying out details. The grounds, which led to this decision, were *moral*, and one of the conditions of each licence was, that the holder should prevent drunkenness, and not receive any goods in barter for liquor, and close his shop at 9 P.M. Regulations were enacted in 1793 and 1800, and in the preamble it is stated, that one of the reasons for passing the rules was the *inordinate use of liquors and drugs*, which had become prevalent owing to the very inconsiderable price, at which they were sold previous to 1790 A.D. In 1802 the great Governor-General, the Marquess of Wellesley, circulated interrogatories, regarding the operation of the system, and inquired, whether the tax had rendered the vice of drunkenness more prevalent. The Court of Appeal at Morshedabad replied in the negative, adding, however, *that it had not decreased*, but that it was not general, and the labouring poor never touched liquor: other authorities replied in different strains, that the Regulations had been beneficial, and suggested still more stringent repressive measures.

Dr. Buchanan published a remarkable book, the account of his survey of certain districts in 1807 and 1814. He remarks, that the use of liquor was very common, but that actual drunkenness was less prevalent: he mentions, that in one district the Mahometans were in the habit of drinking: he mentions that women used spirituous liquor, and that on the frontier of the Company's territory liquor was smuggled in from the Native States free from duty, and therefore sold cheaper. It will be gathered from the above, that the habit was anterior to, independent of, and in defiance of, the Regulations of the early British administrators, and it must be remembered, that since 1790 the population has doubled, the area of cultivation has been enormously extended, roads opened out, new products introduced, and the great Pax Britannica has made Bengal one of the most thickly populous, wealthy, and flourishing countries in the world. The great Provinces of the North-West Provinces, and the Panjáb, naturally followed the Bengal system: the minor Provinces of Assam, the Central Provinces and Burma followed in the same track, while Madras and Bombay

developed their system in their own way, but on the same lines, following the same principles, having the same object in view, not the enhancement of the Revenue of the State by pandering to the base passions of the people, but by steady system of repression and control, and an enhancement of the duty up to that point, which would make smuggling with all its risks profitable.

I must here make a remark, that Archdeacon Farrar and the other speakers, have forgotten one element in the discussion, an element however of the greatest importance, that is, the existence of the Covenanted Civil Service, with entire control over every part of the Administrative Machine, in every part of British India, from the highest to the lowest. Every five years a statesman of the highest mark has been sent out as Governor General and since 1858 as Viceroy, and two eminent men are sent out as Governors of Madras and Bombay, and Military men as Commanders in Chief, and a lawyer for the Legislative Council of the Viceroy; but with these exceptions every post is held by a Member of the Covenanted Civil Service, supplemented in some parts of the country by Military men, who for the time being become Civilians: the real power, and the entire knowledge of Revenue subjects rests with them: and the Councillors, who sit by the side of the Viceroy, have risen up step by step in every grade of the Service, and know every detail: there is no room for half-knowledge with them; if there is a blot in the working of the Excise system, they know it: if the measures of Government lead to increased consumption of liquor either by express design, or by the unfortunate nature of the case, they know it. Now one feature of this great Covenanted Service is its independence of character, sense of responsibility, and outspokenness: there have been Civilians, who in times past have refused to obey the orders of Government to pay the Brahmans to pray for rain during a drought, have refused to administer the affairs of a Heathen Temple, have asserted their right to attend the Baptisms of Native Converts, and justified it in such a way, when called upon for explanation, that the Viceroy has admitted the right. By the practice of the Indian Administration a remonstrance against an order is permitted, and it is notorious, how difficult some men have proved themselves to be, till at last it has come to the alternative of obeying or resigning: but I do assert, that,

if the Viceroy or Council had ordered, as suggested by Mr. Samuel Smith, that, to make up a deficiency in the Budget, encouragement should be given to the sale of liquors and drugs, *he could not have been obeyed: such an order never has been, and never could be issued.* I have myself filled the post of Collector of a District, Commissioner of a Division, and Provincial Head of the Revenue Department, both in the North-West Province, and the Panjáb, and I unhesitatingly say that, had such an order reached me, I should have had the courage of my convictions, and *not have conveyed it to my subordinates*, but should have recorded such a protest as would have compelled its rescission. I learnt my earliest lesson from James Thomason, the pupil of Simeon, and matured my knowledge under John Lawrence, and I served under men of the type of Robert Montgomery and Donald Macleod. Does Mr. Samuel Smith, when he makes such assertions, consider what kind of men have controlled the affairs of India since the beginning of this century from the time of Lord Teignmouth, the President of the Bible Society, down to Lord Lawrence and Sir Bartle Frere?

Nor has the management of the Excise been one unchangeable system, which no one dared to touch, like a Perpetual Settlement of the Land Revenue, or the Capitulations, by which the independence of Turkey is crippled. On the contrary, Governor after Governor has had his eye upon it, and the practice has varied from time to time, and Province to Province, between the Central State-Distillery at the Head Quarters, and a lease of a certain area to a responsible person, who could only open out stills at spots approved by the Collector. The first system has the obvious disadvantage, that it casts an odium upon the Collector, as being *de facto* the head Distiller of his district. Many weak, and imperfectly informed, critics in England see in the Opium Monopoly an aggravation of the offence, in that the State becomes *de facto* the Manufacturer of the Drug. There is the obvious advantage, that by both the Central Liquor Distillery, and the Opium Monopoly, the State officials have efficient means of repression, and can control the working of the machine. The second system has the obvious disadvantage of imperfect control, and therefore loss of Excise, and promotion of undue and illicit sale. In 1859 the Government of India, in its Imperial capacity, pointed out that on *moral, as well as fiscal* grounds, the establishment of Central State-Distilleries

was advisable. In 1883 a Commission was appointed for the Province of Bengal under the sanction of the Government of India to consider the whole subject: on the order constituting the Commission occur the following expressions: "it is impossible for Government to allow this increase of drinking to continue, without making every effort to ascertain those causes, and, if possible, remove them. No considerations of Revenue can be allowed to outweigh the paramount duty of Government to prevent the spread of intemperance, so far as it may be possible to do so." These words were penned by a Governor, who knew what he was about, at a date antecedent to Canon Ellison's Pamphlet of 1886, and Archdeacon Farrar's famous thesis of 1887. The result was a Report dated April, 1884, in which the system, adopted in the whole of British India, is reviewed, and certain recommendations are made for Bengal. The Report was published at Calcutta in 1884 in two large folio volumes, and I recommend it as profitable reading to those, who desire to be something more than Platform Orators, and wish to take a serious and solemn study of the difficulty of administering the affairs of a great subject Nation, uniting the maximum of wise and gentle control, with the minimum of vexatious interferences with their family customs, their weddings, and their gatherings, their feasting, and their weaknesses. Let us try the high moral problem of Total Abstinence by Act of Parliament, or Local Option, first in the Borough of Westminster under the shadow of the Abbey, before we introduce it in Bengal: let us teach the Christian to be sober, and then press the subject on the Hindu and Mahometan. We at least in our Religion have the highest motives, and the power of the Holy Spirit to help us in our endeavours: the Non-Christian world has nothing but the prospect of Earthly advantage, and the unaided energy of Poor Humanity.

I now come to the Despatch of the Government of British India signed August 4, 1887, presented to Parliament August 9, 1887, and printed: it is signed by the Earl of Dufferin the Viceroy, Sir Frederick Roberts the Commander-in-Chief, and five members of Council, one of whom is an English Barrister: it contains reports from the eight Provinces, into which British India is divided: it is a document of the greatest importance. and based on the latest information, being up to date. If we do

not place faith in this, it is as much as to say, "All Anglo-Indians are liars": on this matter I have spoken to one Viceroy, several ex-Governors, and ex-Councillors, and a large body of Anglo-Indians, who have retired, and there is but one opinion on the subject. Some of the most earnest Members of the Temperance Society admit in 1887 the sufficiency of this reply to the Pamphlet issued by the Temperance Society in 1886.

Lord Dufferin summarizes the allegations of that Pamphlet as follows:

A. The Excise Revenue of India is due to a system, which directly leads to the establishment of liquor-shops, where till recently such things were unknown.

B. The fiscal system of India, by affording facilities for drinking *in defiance of native opinion*, is unhappily spreading misery and ruin among many families of the industrial class.

C. The use of intoxicating drinks, which they believe to have been practically unknown in the greater part of India, was introduced under British Rule.

The reply is:—

A. The principle laid down and accepted by all is, that liquor should be taxed, and consumption restricted, as far as it is possible to do so, without imposing positive hardship on the people, and driving them to illicit manufactures.

B. The measures taken have been completely successful: the great increase of the Excise in recent years really represents much less liquor sold, and an infinitely better regulated consumption than the smaller Revenue of former years.

C. It is an error to suppose, that the population of India were universally abstemious, and if left alone, knew nothing of Intoxicating Liquor, and have been introduced to it by the British Government. Both the Hindu and Mahometan Religions indeed denounce the use of Spirits, but the classes, whose habits of life are framed with a strict regard to Religion, and social restrictions, form in India no larger portion of the population than in other countries.

D. Nature produces in great abundance the material for distillation of Spirit, and there is not the slightest reason for supposing, that in the days of Native administration the Indian population refrained from indulgence in a practice, which it requires the constant watchfulness of the British administration to restrain.

E. The Reports from the Central Provinces and Assam show that it is those tribes and races, which are least accessible to the influence of British Rule, which are most addicted to intoxicating liquors and drugs.

F. Our Excise system breaks down on the frontiers of Native States, which are often exceedingly irregular, the villages being intermixed, and not separated by a River or chain of mountains: in those States there is no restriction on the manufacture and sale, and the great difficulty is to exclude untaxed or lightly taxed liquor. In the Bombay Province the Excise rights of Native States have been bought up in some cases, in order that, by imposing on the population of Native States the same restriction, they may maintain, or rather not violate and render nugatory, our restrictive system.

G. The great increase in the Revenue, which is unquestionable, does not mark the extension of drinking habits, but is the result of a great and general increase of the rate of tax, which it would have been entirely impossible to realise but for the great improvement in the preventive measures. The ability of the Excise Department to prevent illicit distillation is the only limit, which is imposed in practice to increase the rate of taxation.

H. The object of the Excise Department is to tax every gallon of spirits, first by a fixed still-head duty, which is regulated at the discretion of the Government, and secondly by a licence fee for retail sale, which is usually determined by competition for the privilege of sale. The system of out-stills is obsolete, except in scantily inhabited tracts, and the borders of Native States, where the Collector has no alternative betwixt letting liquor be distilled untaxed, or make this kind of arrangement.

I doubt whether many persons in England know what an out-still is. I can only lay before them an analogy from Great Britain. Supposing that the State were to undertake the manufacture of Beer and Spirits in great central places, and to license Public Houses for the sale of the State Monopoly liquors, there would be still wild corners in England, Ireland and Scotland, where the facility of smuggling would be such, that the only possible check would be the establishment of private distilleries under all possible safeguards in such places. It would be a measure of control and restriction,

not of expansion. Moreover, the out-still in India (as in the above analogy in Great Britain the private distillery) is not allowed to manufacture as much liquor as its owner likes, and to sell it wherever he likes. "The duty is levied upon "a strict calculation of the number of gallons, which the still "can produce, and the conditions both of distillation and sale "are carefully regulated with reference to the *existing*" (not the prospective or possible) "demand." Shops are established in the localities chosen by the Collector, and not at the discretion of the Distiller, and the Police and the Municipal authorities are consulted on the subject. I am in the habit of assisting annually in the grant of licences in Westminster and Kensington to Publicans, and I doubt, whether so much power of control and restraint of undue opportunities for sale of liquor exists in London as in Lahore and Allahabad.

The average consumption in India is only one bottle, or one bottle and a half, of spirits a year for each adult male, and in some provinces less than that; it is clear that the terms "drunkenness," "drinking classes," and "spread of drinking" bear a meaning wholly different in India and England. Could we but reduce the consumption of London to that standard, how glad would be the hearts of the Temperance Societies!

The vast increase of the population of British India is one of the great administrative problems of the age. The sword, the famine, and the pestilence have been the usual depletors of Oriental countries: the first has ceased absolutely: the last two are guarded against in every way, that Science and Benevolence can suggest, and can it enter into the minds of good men to suppose, that a Government, which spends Millions to stay a famine, the results of operations beyond its control, would insidiously and deliberately for a smaller amount of Revenue poison the bodies and souls of its subjects? Archdeacon Farrar may some day have grandchildren in the Civil Service of the Empress of India; can he contemplate calmly, that they would be enrolled in a body of men, who in his opinion are so infamous as Mr. Samuel Smith describes them? I quote his very words:

"The wants of the *Exchequer in that country are so urgent*, and "it is so *easy to bring in Revenue* from the increased sale of "drink, that the temptation is irresistible to *go on licensing more*



“drink shops. Native opinion is *utterly* opposed to it. The “*leading Castes* of the Hindu and all the Mahometans are by “*custom and religion total abstainers*, but many of them have “been corrupted by our influence and example, and not a “few of the princes and leading natives of India have drunk “themselves to death.”

Another class of imperfectly informed critics run wild on the idea, that the famines of India are caused by the large area given over to the production of drugs, and liquor, and on which cereals could be grown: are they aware that, owing to the enormous additional area of cultivation during the great Pax Britannica, the price of cereals has fallen to such an extent, that wheat can be exported from Central or Northern India with profit to Great Britain to compete with the cereals of the Black Sea, and America?

The problem is a much more difficult one than unimperfectly informed critics at home think: if it is supposed, that a mere order of an alien Government to a vast native population can change their moral habits, it is a mere dream. We can put down the burning of widows, or the burying alive of lepers, because such isolated facts become notorious; but we wage an unequal war against the practice of daughter-killing, as the Police cannot prepare lists of pregnant women, and assist at every birth in the recesses of the Native House. We could not suppress the use of private stills, when Nature has been so prolific in her gifts of inebriating materials: the only way is to regulate the manufacture, tax the produce, and license the distributors, and I do conscientiously maintain, that for the last century the intelligence of three generations of honest and upright men has been taxed to effect this. The Native Army is proverbially sober. I wish that I could say the same of the British soldier; and yet one of Mr. Caine's most bitter sarcasms is, that the “Indian Government will not allow liquor “to be sold to European Soldiers, but it may be sold to a child “thirteen years of age.” Does Mr. Caine reflect, that it costs many hundred Pounds to deliver each of our brave soldiers at their Cantonments in the Panjáb, that it has cost many thousand pounds to house him, and keep him comfortable, well, happy, and ready: and yet Tommy Atkins is more thoughtless of his own life and his own precious soul than any Native child aged thirteen, who probably at that age, if a

female, would be a wife and a mother, and care very little for strong drink, or have any chance of getting it. On the borders of our large Cantonments hover scoundrels with jars of illicit drink, and immodest women, to tempt the soldier to disobey the orders of his Captain, and the Great Captain of his Salvation; and is the Government to be sneered at, because it provides for its brave but thoughtless soldiers a protection, which is not needed for the gamin of the streets, who has neither a pice in his pocket, nor a pocket to put it in, if he had it? It is lamentable to hear such statements cheered by a fanatical audience. Do they wish our soldiers to be exposed to temptations, from which we can protect them partially? Can Mr. Caine's fertile imagination suggest any Police organization, by which a juvenile population, male and female, exceeding thirty Millions can be protected from a danger, to which they are not exposed? for among all the exaggerated statements it is not alleged, that children of tender years have taken to drunkenness. Dulip Singh was indeed drunk at six years old, but he was an independent Sovereign. Nor do we read in the Police returns of India of any number of men and women brought up for being drunk in the streets as in London. Are the Lunatic Asylums crowded with the insane, of whom twenty per cent. brought on their malady by drink, as in Middlesex? Are the Indian Bankruptcy Courts, or the Indian Registrars' Annals, stained with the words, so frequent in Great Britain, "Drank himself, "or herself, to death." But that the subject is so awfully serious, it would seem to be an indecorous pleasantry on the part of the Prince's Hall orators, to put forward charges so ridiculous, and so unfounded, and thus draw a false scent across the path of the earnest Missionary Societies, who were planning to protect Africa from European liquors. From the day of Archdeacon Farrar and Mr. Samuel Smith's ill-omened speeches, that Committee, in which British, German, and American Missionaries were united in a truthful and holy work, has been suspended, as it was impossible to carry on operations with those, who neither weighed their words, nor tested their facts.

I now proceed to quote from the Reports of each of the eight Provinces of British India. Bombay is first on the list.

"In consequence of the relaxation of religious and Caste "rule, it is probable that intoxicating liquor is now often used in

“secret by classes, who formerly abstained. Habitual drunkenness in the English sense of the word is rare.”

“A strike took place in the Districts of Thana and Kolába. It was quoted in the House of Commons as a movement among the population in favour of total abstinence from strong drink. As a matter of fact, it was a strike of the drinking classes, made with the sole object of inducing the Government to reduce the tax on the Tari Palm, and thus make liquor cheaper. The strikers were not able to *maintain their resolutions of abstinence.*”

As far back as 1838 the Government of Bombay issued the following order:

“It cannot be too strongly urged upon the Collectors, that the object, which the Government has in view, is to restrict, and if possible correct, and diminish, the total actual consumption of spirituous liquors, whether clandestine or licensed, being fully persuaded, that any amount of Revenue, that may be lost by the efficiency of the system for this end will be repaid a hundredfold in the preservation and advancement of moral feeling and industrious habits among the people.”

In 1843 we find the following Resolution of the Government of Bombay:

“The Governor in Council entirely concurs in the views expressed by the Collector on the subject of the Revenue derived from the sale of spirituous liquors. Were it possible altogether to abolish the use of spirits, the loss to the Revenue would be a matter of trifling consideration, but this is obviously impossible, and the object of Government must be, by enhancing the price and imposing salutary restrictions on the sale, to check the evil as far as is in its power, while at the same time it draws a Revenue from the use of a luxury, which it cannot prohibit. The regulation of this Branch cannot be effected but by the agency of farmers, and the farmers should be carefully selected, not from those, who may bid the highest, and thus be induced to resort to every possible means of increasing the consumption, but from those who, though they may offer less for the farms, bear good characters and will content themselves with a fair profit without adopting undue methods of attracting customers to their shops. New shops should not be established without express permission, and then only in places, where clandestine sale

“may be carried on, which open and authorized sale will tend to check. The Collector should bear these remarks in mind in all his arrangements relative to the Excise.”

In 1884 the Government of Bombay recorded the following resolution :

“Government would willingly relinquish all Revenue from this source, could it thereby abate the increasing vice of drunkenness: this, however, being impracticable, the next object of Government is to check it by enhancing the price of intoxicating liquors.”

In the Report of the Customs administration of 1884-85 we come face to face with the real “bête noire,” the import of Potable Spirits by sea through the agency of European and American Merchants. Under the principles of Free Trade such wares cannot be excluded: the total import amounted at this one Port to 210,119 Proof Gallons; 53 per cent. of Brandy, 32 per cent. of Whisky, 6 per cent. of Old Tom, and 9 per cent. of Rum: the Brandy was both in wood and bottles. No licensee of Native liquor is allowed to sell foreign liquor, and vice versa. The licensee of foreign liquors, finding that the superior and expensive Spirit was too expensive for the natives of the lower classes, who frequent their shops, had to seek for a foreign liquor, which might prove as attractive, while cheaper than spirit. They tried Spirits of wine, which, though of country manufacture, was allowed to be sold with foreign liquors, the duty being the same: it was found, that its strength could not be reduced sufficiently to lower its price to the extent necessary, and at the same time satisfy the consumer. Rum was therefore tried, and has been found to suit the tastes and pockets of the consumer. The whole is imported from Mauritius, a British Colony, but the strength is reduced. Here is indeed a frightful evil, which has lately come into existence; but it is difficult to blame the Government of India: the sin lies at the door of the British Merchant and Manufacturer, and it is a grievous sin.

Let us see what the Government of Madras says:—“The sale of intoxicating liquors is just as much a trade as that of any other kind of commodity, but there is this great difference, that, while the sale of a necessary of life, like bread, need not be interfered with or regulated in any way, the sale of intoxicating liquors, if left to the unfettered opera-

"tion of free trade, involves an enormous amount of drunken-  
 "ness and crime, and therefore calls for regulation at the  
 "hands of any Government with any pretence to civilization.  
 "The policy, which the Government has announced, of endeavour-  
 "ing to realize the *maximum* Revenue from a *minimum* con-  
 "sumption, though perhaps involving, in its strict interpretation,  
 "a verbal contradiction in terms, yet expresses with sufficient  
 "force and clearness what we consider the right course to  
 "pursue. It is, however, to be observed, that while all taxation  
 "becomes Revenue, as soon as it reaches the public exchequer,  
 "yet it should always be borne in mind in connection with  
 "the taxation derived from the sale of intoxicating liquors, that  
 "it is imposed primarily in order to restrain the consumption  
 "of such liquors, and not for the purpose of making money out  
 "of their sale, and that the fact of the Revenue so derived being  
 "large is merely an incident arising from two causes: (1) The  
 "determination of the Government to do all that lies in its  
 "power to repress a baneful trade in what is not a necessary  
 "of life; (2) The general prosperity of the people, which  
 "enables them to spend on the indulgence of a vicious pro-  
 "pensity money, which might be better expended or invested.  
 "It follows that every right-feeling Government will do all  
 "that it can to increase the taxation up to that point, when  
 "the people, rather than pay for the high price liquor, which  
 "alone can be had in licensed shops, will take to illicit  
 "smuggling and distillation." Such to the best of my belief  
 have ever been the principles of the Government of India.  
 Such they were when I learned my first lesson forty years  
 ago, and such it is still.

The great Province of Bengal, with its sixty-six million  
 inhabitants, twenty of whom are Mahometan, comes next. A  
 Commission had been appointed to go into the subject in  
 1883, and on the 10th of March the orders of Government  
 were issued.

A. The introduction, whenever opportunities of supervision  
 existed, of the Central Distillery, and Still-head Duty. B. The  
 regulation in other places of the out-stills, so that the minimum  
 licence price should be the amount of duty calculated upon  
 the capacity of production. C. Reduction in the number of  
 shops, and certain restrictions on sales. In the year 1885-86  
 the Net Revenue from liquor and drugs of all kinds amounted

to £927,000, less than a million. In the same year Great Britain levied from a population of Christians of less than half the amount a very much larger sum.

The printed Report of this Commission gives us some side lights on this state of affairs. In 1874 the Government was petitioned on the subject of the increase of drinking, more particularly of the upper class, by Christians and Hindus, and Babu Keshab Chandra Sen, the celebrated leader of the Brahmaists. The minute, which was recorded by a Member of the Board of Revenue upon that petition, contains much that is worthy of remark. "He agrees with the petitioners, that drinking has increased, especially in towns and among the higher class, but he disputes the assertion, that the action of Government can arrest it; he denies that Government has ever wilfully preferred considerations of Revenue to the welfare of the people, but admits administrative failure, and mistaken zeal of native officials. There is no manner of doubt, that intemperance among the higher classes radiates from Calcutta, as from a central focus, the habit is most prevalent in Districts nearest to the Metropolis, and the opinion is prevalent *that intemperance naturally follows an English Education.* The restraint of Caste Rules, and dictates of the Hindu and Mahometan Religious books, lose their hold on the conscience of those, who come under Education, and the sad result must be debited to the School Master rather than the Excise Officer. A medical man records his opinion, that the demoralizing habit of private drinking is indulged by nearly nine-tenths of the Bengáli students. A vendor of Brandy remarked that native gentlemen, who can speak English, acquire a taste for brandy with the language. The quantity of intoxicating liquor drunk on holidays is incredible. Patients describe to their Doctor their powers of drinking. A Mahometan member of the writer caste stated that he had finished a bottle of brandy, and three bottles of beer at an evening sitting. A Hindu member of the writer caste stated that he had swallowed a bottle of brandy almost at a draught."

"It is distinctly recorded, that the upper classes do not resort to the shops licensed by the Excise, nor do they consume Native spirit: but they drink in the privacy of their homes liquor imported from Europe: against this evil

“ the Government is impotent : the duty cannot be raised high  
 “ enough on imported spirits so as to be prohibitory without  
 “ raising an outcry on the part of the European residents all  
 “ over British India, who with very rare exceptions are exceed-  
 “ ingly temperate as a class, and yet would not submit to be  
 “ debarred from the use of liquor, to which they are accustomed.  
 “ It is added that the Native spirit of Bengal is a weak spirit :  
 “ drunkenness is exceptional : and there is no necessary con-  
 “ nection betwixt drunkenness and crime. Dacoits, or here-  
 “ ditary robbers, usually drink but moderately, and in the course  
 “ of worship to their patron Deity ; the most celebrated Dacoit,  
 “ whom the Head of the Police ever knew, was a total abstainer :  
 “ on the other hand, common burglars, and petty thieves, were  
 “ in a constant state of half-stupefaction from drugs. It is mere  
 “ foolishness to expect that a certain proportion of the popula-  
 “ tion will not contrive to use stimulants, or that the Excise  
 “ Revenue will not increase. As the upper classes adopt more  
 “ and more European habits, we must expect to see them take  
 “ the bad with the good, and probably more of the bad than the  
 “ good : all that the Government can do is to supply the demand,  
 “ *but not create it*, and to act on an honest recognition of the  
 “ truth, that the Excise Revenue is a very small matter in com-  
 “ parison with the comfort and well-being of the people.”

I treat the two great Provinces of the North-West Provinces  
 and the Panjáb together. A friend drew my attention to a  
 passage in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, dated March 30, 1887, with  
 a view of consoling my spirit and stopping my mouth.

“ It is not an indispensable part of our Imperial System.  
 “ Proof is afforded by the fact, that the corrupt system of Excise  
 “ has not been adopted in the North-West Provinces and the  
 “ Panjáb, and the temptation to increase the Revenue has not  
 “ yet constrained the Local Government to sacrifice the morality  
 “ of the people to the interests of the Exchequer.”

These were my two Provinces, in which I commenced  
 and finished my service, having been chief Revenue Officer in  
 both, and I maintain that the quotations made from the Records  
 of the Government of Bombay and Madras, of which Provinces  
 I know personally nothing, represent exactly the great principles,  
 upon which we have always acted in the two Northern Provinces  
 of India, which teem with Sugar and Hemp, and in one of  
 which the Mohwa or *Bassia latifolia* drops its insidious leaves

into the very Courtyards of the houses : there is less of rice, and palm trees, and a very slight growth of poppy, but cereals to any amount.

A Mr. J. Gregson, a Temperance Missionary, whose statements with regard to events in Kolába, in the Bombay Province, have been (page 40) shown not to be entirely "exact" (to state the case mildly), tells a startling fact with regard to the Panjáb, "that there was one Raja in the Panjáb, who built and endowed "Churches and Mission buildings, and died of *delirium tremens* : "the man, he adds, was but an exaggerated type of what a "Christianized Indian threatens to become." This is a frightful statement, and involves the character of Missionary Societies, as well as the Raja. I have had personal acquaintance with all the Rajas of the Panjáb, and their Fathers and Grandfathers, but the statement seems incredible. As copies of this paper will go out to India, and the Panjáb, the name of this Church building and intoxicated Raja, will transpire. In justice to the two Provinces, the population of which is very dear to me, as I have visited every District of this vast Region, and lived for many years in personal contact with people of every class from the Raja down to the village watchman, I am glad to record the following facts. The population of the North-West Provinces exceeds twenty-two Millions both Hindu and Mahometan, and their annual consumption averages *one pint for every adult male*. The population of the Panjáb amounts to nearly nineteen Millions, both Hindu and Mahometan, and their annual consumption gives only *a quarter of a pint for every adult male*.

O Noctes cœnæque Deum !

This is a most beggarly allowance for races, who supply nearly all our Sepáhis, and are as tall and strong as Englishmen : and no allowance is made for the possible, though improbable, consumption of liquors by one single woman, or those lads of thirteen years old, round whose tendencies Mr. Caine rails at the Government for having placed no protection, and it is within this vast Region, that the bulk of the British Army is cantoned, and their quota of drink must be allowed for in the average. Fortunately for these happy races the European trader with his liquid poison of Whisky, Rum, Brandy and Old Tom, has not as yet got a firm footing ; but the march of civilization and English Education will surely bring this evil, and corrupt the



moderate habits of my dear Panjáb friends, who are content with an annual quarter of a pint of Native liquor. Oh! that I were back in their midst to tell them, how that Henry and John Lawrence and Montgomery, Macleod, Herbert Edwardes and myself, were charged in England with having introduced (for we were the very first Europeans whom they saw) among them such vicious and intemperate habits, habits not alluded to in the Veda, the Ramáyana, and the Mahabhárata, and all their ancient books: habits never practised by Ranjít Singh, and his Courtiers, and the great Chiefs of the Khalsa: how the honest old citizens and greybeards would laugh to think, that their old friends had led them so far down the abyss of intemperance, and misery, as to drink an annual quarter of a pint of their nasty decoction of hemp, sugar, or poppy-juice, while at that period old Clergymen of the Church of England drank daily three glasses of port. Moreover, the Panjáb is a Province thoroughly in hand, with every acre of land surveyed, and every man, woman and child counted in the Census, and has the inestimable advantage of being one thousand miles from the nearest seaport. But a Missionary of the Panjáb informs me that in Lahore, and some large towns, liquor-shops for European liquors have largely increased: so the deadly poison is spreading.

In addition to the five great Provinces of British India, with their teeming populations, and independent Constitutions, there are three smaller Provinces, Assam, the Central Provinces, and Burma: they have been less influenced by British civilization: the population is chiefly Non-Arian, backward in culture, difficult of access. In Burma we find ourselves in entirely different environments: the people are Buddhists: in some of the remote valleys the practice of opium-smoking, so entirely unknown in India, prevails. Lower Burma has been under British control for many years: the kingdom of Burma is a new annexation: the whole state of affairs is abnormal, and there was clearly a few years ago a great neglect of the established principles of the Indian Government in the Excise arrangements. There are no roads, and the means of communication are difficult: the population is sparse, and heavy jungles facilitate illicit stills. In the Seaports, on the other hand, European strong drinks are easily to be obtained. On the whole, this Province will be for years to come an anxious charge. In the Administration Report for

1885-86 it is noted, that the Excise Revenue is declining, that there are only seventeen shops in the whole of the Province for the sale of opium, and that increased smuggling was the result.

In the Central Provinces the Chief Commissioner reports, that he has always been careful not to countenance any measures calculated to create or foster a taste for spirits. I quote the following :

“As to the habits of the people in the matter of drinking, it  
 “is of course true, that, in accordance with their religious senti-  
 “ments, Hindus of certain of the higher castes and Mahometans  
 “do, as a body, abjure drink, but in these Provinces these classes  
 “form but a small portion of the total population. We have  
 “here, in a country, much of which is wild and hilly and covered  
 “with long stretches of forest, a large aboriginal population, and  
 “in certain parts of the Province large numbers of persons of  
 “the lowest Castes, who with their forefathers have always been  
 “accustomed to the use of liquor made from the flower of the  
 “Mohwa tree. This tree grows abundantly all over the Central  
 “Provinces, and the process, by which spirit is distilled from the  
 “Mohwa flower in the wilder parts of the country, is of the  
 “simplest character ; a couple of earthen pots and a piece  
 “of hollow bambú to form a tube constituting the distiller’s  
 “apparatus. There is not a district in some portion of which  
 “spirit cannot under these circumstances be distilled illicitly with-  
 “out much fear of detection, and experience has proved most  
 “convincingly, that unless the inherited taste of these people  
 “for this stimulant is satisfied by the establishment within their  
 “reach of shops, where they can buy taxed spirit, they will  
 “resort to illicit distillation, and render themselves liable to  
 “the penalties of the Revenue-law. It would be useless, even  
 “if it were expedient, to attempt to suppress consumption by  
 “refusing to license shops. Smuggling and its demoralising  
 “effects, prosecutions and heavy penalties would, under the  
 “conditions of these Provinces, be the inevitable result. The  
 “wisest policy is to adopt such measures, as will operate as  
 “a check on excessive drinking, and this is the policy which  
 “is followed here. It may be added that in the malarious  
 “tracts which abound in the Central Provinces, it is quite  
 “possible, that the moderate consumption of a weak spirit,  
 “such as that ordinarily consumed in these Provinces, has  
 “its beneficial effects in protecting the people from chills

“and fevers. But however that may be, there is the fact, “that the use of liquor in this part of the country has no “connection with the advent of British rule, and that steps “were first taken upwards of 20 years ago to restrict its consumption.”

In Assam we read of the state of affairs, as it was when the British occupied Assam, when almost every cultivator of land grew a patch of poppy in the cold weather, and as the use of the drug is acquired in its most fascinating form by smoking, the householder, as well as his women and children, were confirmed opium consumers, as the drug was collected by wiping off the juice of the poppy-heads on rags, which, on being dried, were quite prepared for smoking.

The cultivation of the Poppy was forbidden, and the only opium introduced into the valley came from the State Monopoly, and was sold to men only at an enhanced price. In the meantime the people increased in number, and all the elements of comfort, and other forms of intoxicating liquors have come into fashion, quite independent of any European or British contact or influence. The following remarks of a District Officer of an independent tribe are worthy of notice :

“As regards the district of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills the “remarks hardly apply, as outside of Shillong Excise rules “cannot properly be said to apply. On the broad question, “my opinion is, that, were there no Excise system in India, “drunkenness would vastly increase with the increase of prosperity which this country enjoys. The Jaintia are, perhaps, “the most drunken race in the Province, if not in India, and “they pay no Excise taxes. Several times respectable Jaintia “have implored me and my predecessors to introduce the Excise “system with the express view of lessening intemperance, but “for various reasons this measure has not yet been adopted. “Of course it would be idle to deny, that the establishment of a “shop at a place, where one was not in existence before, tends “to increase the drunkenness of that particular locality. But “this to my mind only shows that the desire to drink is “omnipresent, and that, if the demand now creates a supply in “spite of the heavy taxes raised as Excise duty, and, in spite of “all the vexatious rules and checks regulating the traffic, in the “absence of these taxes, rules, and checks for every one shop “now in existence, there would be a score, if the Excise

“ Department were abolished, unless, indeed, the manufacture of liquor was altogether prohibited throughout India. I should imagine that this is a measure which not even the Temperance Society would advocate; but, if they would do so, I would oppose it on the grounds, that it would be an intolerable interference with the liberty of the subject; that India cannot afford to lose any Revenue at all just now; that the Excise tax is the least burdensome of all taxes, since no one need drink unless he likes; that all civilized nations drink, and apparently in exact proportion to the extent of their civilization and general progress (England taking the lead).”

In the Administration Reports presented to Parliament annually by a succession of Governors, who have no connection with their predecessors, but are often in antagonism to them, we find a faithful picture of the progress of each Province, such as no Nation in the world, past or present, has ever received from its Subject Empires. If Cicero during his Proconsulate in Bithynia, or Pontius Pilate at Jerusalem, had sent to Rome such Reports, and they had survived to our times, many obscure points would be cleared up. These Reports must be true, because they are exposed to the lynx eyes of readers, who know the circumstances as well as the Reporter. In the Reports of the Excise, we find how the amount fluctuates, because the particular year was not auspicious to Hindu marriages, and there were fewer marriages, and less feasting. The presence of large gangs of labourers collected for great Public Works is a cause for the increase of the Excise quite intelligible. In Burma we read, that Rum imported from Penang is driving out the locally distilled liquor. In Bengal it is noticed that foreign rums and cheap brandy are superseding rum of local manufacture. The consumption of opium seems to be decreasing everywhere: but the income of British India from the Excise is steadily increasing, and it is considered to be indicative of growing prosperity among the people.

I did not take up the pen to justify, or even palliate, the use of intoxicating liquors, and stupefying drugs: on one occasion years ago, during a discussion in a Missionary Committee on the subject of the opium question, I expressed my regret, that our Heavenly Father had in His wisdom created the Poppy to be the cause of ruin to millions, and a root of bitterness among good men. I can only add my regret that the same all-wise

Power had created Sugar and Hemp, and Rice, and Grain, and the Palm Tree, and the Mohwa tree, and allowed these poor ignorant races, from whom so much knowledge had been shut out, to discover, as the first of Nature's discovered secrets, the mysterious trick of fermentation. In the cause of truth I protest against the view taken of the subject by the orators of Prince's Hall. I quote some words of Archdeacon Farrar :

"Hindu and Mahometans have listened to the voices of their Prophets, as the Rechabites, and been blessed thereby."

"We have made money out of the misery of the Indian people, and grown rich out of their degradation."

"If we were to give local self-government for twelve months to the ten Millions of the North-west Provinces" (the population amounts to twenty-two), "we are assured (by whom?) that at the end of that period drunkenness would have disappeared, because Mahometans would be ashamed to defile their fingers with Rupees for the sale of 'Shame-water,' as it is called (by whom?), and the Hindu would boycott with indignation any publican, who bore a licence to demoralize his fellow-subjects."

"Instead of wells, we have plenty of grog-shops."

"We derive from that source a perfect river of gold, flowing into our Exchequer, but the River flows from the fountain of Shame-water."

"We can make Nations drunken by Act of Parliament, and make them sober by Act of Parliament: why not try it in India?" (or England).

Some of these points require special reply. What is "Shame-water"? It looks as if an imperfectly instructed linguist had confused the word "sharáb," which means "wine," and lives on in the English word "sharbet," with the word "sharam," which means "shame." I have heard liquors called by many bad names in Hindustani, and respectable people (perhaps secret drinkers) would make wry faces, and signs of disgust, if the word "sharáb" were used in their hearing; but I never heard the word "Shame-water" in general native parlance. It implies a knowledge of English, as well as Hindustani, which is rare among Natives of Upper India. And does the Archdeacon really recommend such a breach of the peace as is implied in "boycotting"? does he dare boycott a Public House in Westminster? why then propose to a Hindu to do an act

in Upper India, which would most certainly lodge him in the Gaol? Are the weak Municipalities of India able to dispose of the Liquor question in such a trenchant way, while the ancient Municipalities of Great Britain have failed? It is difficult to get any meaning out of the blessing, which the Hindu and Mahometan are said to have got from their false Prophets. What blessing can come from the hideous idolatry of the Hindu, or the Christ-dishonouring tenets of Mahomet? How have we become rich out of the degradation of the people of India? Not a Rupee of tribute comes to Great Britain from India. The balance of advantage of the Union of the Empires is enormously on the side of India, which has obtained everything from Great Britain except Political and Commercial Liberty. Reflect upon the treatment, which the South Africans, the Australians, the New Zealanders and North American indigenous population, despoiled of their lands, and turned into serfs, and corrupted with liquor, have received at the hands of the British settler, and contrast it with that of the people of India, where Raja and Citizen, landholder and tenant, enjoy their ancestral land and houses, as they were at the beginning of the Rule of the Company, transmitting them to their children, whether Hindu or Mahometan, according to their own law of Marriage and Inheritance, and where in the Courts of Justice there is no distinction of white, or black, Christian, or non-Christian.

A certain English Missionary addressed a letter to Mr. Samuel Smith which has been published. Now I am well acquainted with all the Missionary Societies of India, and I should like to know the name of this gentleman: it is he who tells us that "the Board of Revenue encourage the drink trade, put facilities before the people in order to push on the trade and get in a large revenue: that there was a grand triumph for the Excise, but it was at the cost of fearful misery and demoralization of the people of India:" that "no less than half a dozen of Rajahs have died at a comparatively young age within the last few years from indulgence freely in kegs (sic) of champagne (not soda) and brandy." He then tells us "that Europeans may reform and give up drink, but a Native goes on to the end: he seldom or never can give it up." I call on Mr. Samuel Smith to let us know the name of this Missionary, that he may be cross-examined as to the truth of his statements: it ill becomes

a Christian Minister (unless perhaps he is a *Mahometan* Missionary) to make such statements to a chance traveller, and not to bring it before the notice of a Conference of Missionaries, or report it to his own Committee. As a member of the Committee of the Church Missionary Society, I can certify, that we hear news from every part of India about Famines, and Pestilences, and the condition of the people of India, and the Opium Trade, and Secular Education, but I have no recollection of the subject of the misery of the people brought on by drunkenness, encouraged by the Government. In a Committee containing at least a dozen retired Anglo-Indian Civilians and Soldiers, this would have produced a startling sensation, and would have led to inquiries, and remonstrances to the Secretary of State for India.

It is the European Brewers, Distillers, and Exporters who are rendering nugatory all the endeavours of a wise and benevolent Government to control a fearful evil, which appears to accompany Education and Civilization, when unsanctified by the Christian Religion, which inculcates the only real Morality.

I place on record the rate of annual consumption in each of the five great Provinces:

Bengal, a quarter of a gallon for every adult male.

Madras, less than a quarter.

Bombay, less than a gallon.

North-west Provinces, one pint.

The Panjáb, a quarter of a pint.

The whole of India, one bottle or a bottle and a half.

If the women are taken into calculation, and the boys and girls up to thirteen, for whose unprotected state Mr. Caine expressed such anxiety, the average will fall still lower. The numbers are so enormous, it is not easy for those, who are only accustomed to the small populations of Europe, to grasp the idea of a single Province with a population of Sixty-six Millions, and an Empire of two hundred and fifty: the amount of liquor, which would drench England, is only a sprinkling when scattered over India.

Sir Richard Temple, M.P., made the following statement in the House of Commons in 1887: if any one knows India, he does, and he is in no respect the paid defender, or in the least dependent on the Government of India.

“With regard to the civil administration, it had been said that

“in order to stimulate the Excise they were driving the people into intemperance. He gave that statement the most emphatic denial. If there was any tendency to intemperance, the Government of India would soon take steps to stop that danger. Anything further from the mind of the Government of India than the idea he referred to could not be imagined, and, indeed, very few populations were less liable to intemperance than the people of India.”

I have very little to thank the Government of India for, not even a Retiring Pension: but I love the people of India very dearly, and after a careful examination of the systems of administration of subject-countries by any Nation in ancient or modern times, I have come to the conviction that the much-abused Government of India is the most sympathetic, the most just, the most tolerant, and the most influenced by Christian wisdom, liberality, and conscientiousness, that the world has ever seen; it is not then a matter of surprise that, as I hold such sentiments, the speeches of Archdeacon Farrar and Mr. Samuel Smith could not be overlooked: there were but two alternatives, to admit the truth of their statements, and join them in the Crusade, or to combat them, as I do now. The Government of India has to submit to much contumely, but it appears to affect it very little: in the consciousness of Right it is strong; the Indian Press is free, and the Records of the State are freely published: there is nothing to conceal.

I was attending in May a Meeting of a Missionary Society, and as I passed in at the door in company of an Ex-Viceroy, a paper was thrust into our hands, entitled “Licensing of Sin in India,” which at the first glance I imagined to be an after-clap of the attack from the Cloisters of Westminster, but No! it was a blast from the Cloisters of Winchester, dictated by the wife of a Canon of that Cathedral, charging the Government of India with the encouragement of Vice, really for the love of Vice, for no imputation is made of a desire for gain in this matter. The charge will no doubt grow. Some Missionary (name not given) will meet a travelling M.P., and assure him that this diabolical measure is only another turn of the Revenue screw, another indication that “the official Society of British India is rotten to the core”: this time it is the Commander-in-Chief and the British Army that is attacked, not the Civil Governor and the Civil Service: but those who know Lord Dufferin



and the Council of India, would rather trust the lives, and honour, and interests, of the women of India to their care than to Professor Stuart and Mesdames Butler and Booth.

What can be done ?

It should be impressed upon the Government of India, that there should be triennial reviews of the Excise system, and the greatest watchfulness maintained over the working of the system, as carried out by Native subordinates, who cannot be trusted: there should be some special officer in each Province: his salary can be provided from the ever-increasing Excise. A stop at once should be placed on the use of intoxicating liquors in any College, or Hospital, or Office of the State. Intoxication should be punished by instant dismissal. Bands of Hope, Temperance Societies, and a Temperance Literature in all the languages of India, should be encouraged. A Missionary tells me that they are already formed in the Panjáb, and no doubt in other Provinces, as there is a strong feeling in its favour amidst a large Section of the Community: it is not like introducing a new Religion: it is an attempt to enforce a Rule of Morality, in which all agree, whether Christian, Hindu, Sikh, Buddhist, Parsí, Jew, Nature-worshipper, Mahometan, or Brahmoist. The unwarranted attacks of Missionaries on Caste have been very prejudicial, as Caste-Rules are great preservatives of the decencies of life, and should be respected.

Sensational abuse should cease: the matter is too solemn for platform eloquence. Fanaticism does no good. Henry V. of England, a reformed rake, intended to root the vine out of France, if he had lived: had he done so, he would have been equally intemperate in his manhood, as in his youth. The existence of human tendencies in every race of mankind must be recognized as a fact: this is part of our physical constitution: the abundant supply of intoxicating materials in India is a fact also: this was part of Nature's mysterious plan. We should try so to restrain the use by practical laws, that the weak may be held back from the abuse of what, if moderately used, is lawful. Centuries ago an Abbey was built on Thorney Island, which became the most illustrious in the world: within a radius of five miles round this Abbey a larger amount of drink is consumed than in any other equal area: is the Abbey to blame? The liquor consumed is both indigenous, and foreign imports. The Empire of India is the most illustrious in the world in wealth,

population, products and arts: the Indian Nation were foremost in Science, Commerce, Manufacture, and Literature, when the British were still savages clad in skins: and yet I have conclusively shown, that at all periods of their ancient history they had among them a section of the community, who abused the good gifts of Nature: and since the connection of India with Europe the evil has *been intensified by the import of the liquid poison of Europe*: is the Government of India to blame?

And how can the British Nation throw stones in this particular at the Indian? "Physician, heal thyself," would be the reply from India, if it were as free as Australia. The great Indo-European, or Aryan, Race in its vast expansion from India to Ireland has been for many Centuries great in Arms, Arts, Science and Legislation, and everything that can render the Human Race illustrious, but it has in all its branches, Kelt, Teuton, Slav, Italo-Greek, Iranic and Indic, been always famous, in spite of the Priest and Moralist, for its passion for intoxicating liquors, and at this day the Teuton has become the great Poisoner of the World. Their footsteps have been dyed in blood, and their hands steeped in drink, in their grand march over Continent and Island: they talk of Civilization and Religion, but what they have given to Africa and Oceania is one grain of Bible teaching drowned in tons of Drink. The wages of the day-labourer have been paid in demijohns of gin: the exchange of compliments with a Chieftain has been in a "dash" of brandy. Unless the conscience of Christian Nations is roused, nothing can be done. The Legislature of British India could in some way protect itself, if the iron hand of Manchester were lifted up, and it had the same independence of taxation of Imports as the Dominion of Canada and the Colonies of South Africa and Australia. Some arrangements might be made for the interior distribution of European liquor among European residents in British India, if a prohibitory Import Duty could be placed upon all liquors imported beyond *Sea for the use of the Natives of India, their consent having been obtained to this arrangement*: until this is done, there is no hope for the People of India.

This Paper will be published in India and England, and will probably be translated into some of the Indian Vernaculars: copies will be sent to the Missionary Societies of North America, and the Continent. The false charge has gone forth: the reply

shall follow. The Press of Europe, America, and India can bring to the test the accuracy of my quotations from Indian Authors, and the correctness of the facts stated in the Despatch of the Viceroy. As soon as this stumbling-block has been removed, the Committee of the Church of England Temperance Society can resume its benevolent labours, and the Committee of the Missionary Societies can be raised from the state of suspended life caused by the speeches of Archdeacon Farrar and Mr. Samuel Smith. I am sorry to have come into collision with them, but

Amicus Plato : amicus Socrates : major amicus est Veritas.

LONDON, *Jan.* 1, 1888.

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